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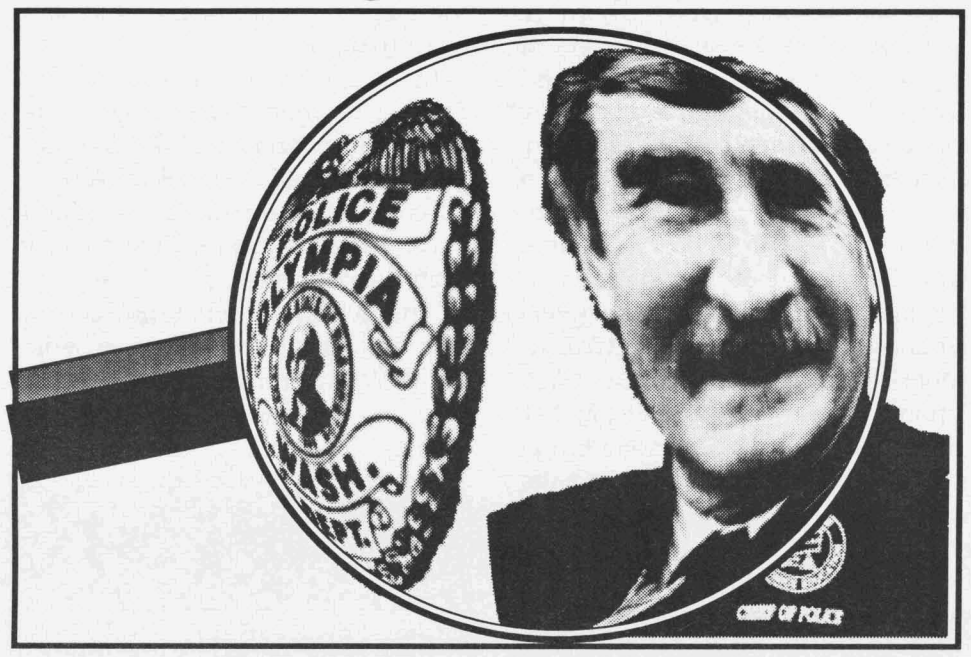
WORKS IN PROGRESS

VOLUME 6, NO. 9 | THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION | FEBRUARY 1996 • FREE

"Experience, which destroys innocence, also leads one back to it." James Baldwin

A Closer Look

Healing The O.P.D.



Pat Tassoni

In the wake of Michael Pendleton's Report on the condition of the Olympia Police Department, an Ad Hoc Committee has been established, comprised of Olympia Councilmembers Holly Gadbaw, Mark Foutch, and Mayor Bob Jacobs, Police Chief John Wurner, City Manager Dick Cushing, and Assistant City Manager Steve Hall. The first step taken by the committee was to implement an assessment process and strategy for organization improvement through Advisory Teams. Two Advisory Teams, one composed of four upper management employees and the other of two middle managers, two support staff and four patrol officers, will each review and prioritize Pendleton Report recommendations. The Upper Management Advisory Team will check with the Lieutenants and Sergeants, and the Police Department Team will check with the rest of the department for approval before presenting their plans to the Ad Hoc Committee in mid-February, at which time, a Work Plan and Schedule will be drafted. Then it will go before the City Council, giving the public an opportunity for input as well. In light of this opportunity, a self-named Citizen Advisory Team has established itself to also prioritize and make recommendations. They are not as of yet a part of the official process.

As the Pendleton Report indicates from its evaluation of the Olympia Police Department, morale is down and the organizational structure is dysfunctional. As a managerial/organizational assessor, Pendleton's recommendations primarily concentrate on reorganizing, restructuring and rejuvenating the police department, to create a functional and healthy place in which to work.

But this is only half the picture. The implications of certain evaluated factors in the report tell an important story as we distill it down to the level of how the police and public interact. As Councilmember Gadbaw mentioned during the first meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee, "the police are often the most, if not the only, city employees some of the public ever has contact with. They are on the front line in representing the city." The Report drafts its recommendations from police employee interviews. This gives a bit of an insight into why the police/public interaction is as it is. Recommendations destined to change such a structure could have either positive or negative effects in the public interest.

The Citizen Advisory Team

The Citizen Advisory Team is looking at the following Pendleton recommendations, which came from his interviews with police employees:

Recommendation #5 Establish... Training Program

For many participants the lack of training limits the effectiveness of the Department. Participants report that there is no clear annual training program...little or no training on changes in the law, technique, or technology. Participants report that they do not receive fundamental training that is required to enable them to fully perform their job.

Suggested training is ignored or finds no support from upper management.

Policies and training programs need to be continuously and openly re-evaluated to ensure they are effective, up-to-date and not inconsistent with the values and priorities of the local community.

Recommendation #8 Implement Community Policing

Reportedly the formal philosophy and approach to policing in Olympia is called Community Policing. It is the consistent view of the participants that the Department's commitment to Community Policing is mostly rhetoric and is not happening in a comprehensive or consistent fashion...just a buzz word used to satisfy political objectives and is not integrated into the daily practice of police work.

Recommendation #9 Establish and Implement Public Involvement Program.

Another significant issue identified by participants is the perceived lack of support from outside the department. The participants are clearly challenged by the fact that they are in a conservative profession within what they perceive as a "liberal" community. This is a particularly difficult adjustment for many of the lateral entry officers who come from communities

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Open Letter to City Councilmembers and City Administrators of Olympia, Lacey and Tumwater

Emergency Habitat Says Access Requirements Interferes with Crisis Shelter

Rick Hoonan

Emergency Habitat was excited to read in the *Olympian* that Lacey and Olympia had approved the opening of a rotating short-term shelter. And that Tumwater may also come on board soon. I think it is wonderful that the three cities are reaching out to support the need. Emergency Habitat, whose members were previously homeless or are homeless advocates, have been working on several solution strategies over the past three years.

We are also on the Thurston County Homeless Task Force and were working with the Housing Task Force to help operate the temporary shelter. We believe we have the experience to operate such a shelter effectively. After being informed of the requirements being handed down from the three cities, we decided it was designed for complete failure and we withdrew from the project. The identification requirement, screening for outstanding warrants, and drug and alcohol checks will drastically effect the success of the homeless men's shelter.

I discussed the screening and security plans with two city administrators, but the policy had been already established.

The three city administers and city council persons have some valid concerns. The bottom line: the cities have very deep pockets and are vulnerable to liable law suits. We can't guarantee this could never happen, but we suggest that the identification requirement, drug and alcohol testing, weapon searches and screening for warrants will not guarantee freedom from lawsuits either. Furthermore, we suggest the access restrictions would not completely protect the cities from possible liable claims within the confines of the premises.

One approach we support in addressing homeless issues is creating a dialogue between the people who are working on homeless issues and the

(Continued page 15)

LETTERS

O.J. Is Guilty

Mr. Johnson,

I am a white progressive, who is not a racist, who finds your blind defense of O.J. Simpson to be disgusting.

O.J. is a conservative Republican who has done nothing for African-Americans. (Jim Brown, the Hall of Fame football player and community activist in Los Angeles, says this.) O.J. has used the African-American community, and their suspicion of the LAPD, to get away with murder. And you are defending him...

I could spend pages pointing out why O.J. is certainly guilty, but here's just a few.

1. O.J.'s blood was at the murder scene, and it was seen before Fuhrman arrived, so Fuhrman didn't put it there. And O.J. had yet to return from Chicago, so the blood didn't come from his blood sample taken during his vague, rambling interview with police. This alone is enough to convict. O.J. has no credible alibi.

2. O.J.'s lawyers changed his alibi several times: first, he's sleeping in his house; then, when phone records emerged that show O.J. made a call on his cell phone at 10:13pm, the story changed. Now, he was chipping golf balls in his yard at 10pm in the dark, something his neighbors had never seen him do. (Give me a break, Jerome. If you buy this, I've got some ocean-front property in Kansas to sell you.)

When the limo-driver arrived, the Bronco was not there, because the limo-driver saw the address, which would have been impossible if the Bronco was there, because the Bronco was later parked exactly in front of the address on the curb. The limo-driver did *not* see the Bronco when he arrived, looking for the address. (The Bronco was gone, obviously.)

3. Ron Goldman's blood was in the Bronco. Ron Goldman never knew or met O.J.. He never was in the Bronco. The only way the blood could have got there is from the murderer — O.J.

4. Spousal abuse often leads to murder. O.J. is a classic case.

5. Why does an "innocent" man fight against DNA evidence? Everyday, *innocent* people are freed because of DNA. When I hear defenders of O.J. say that I should shut up and accept the wisdom of the jury, I say this to you: When the Simi Valley jury came back with an absurd verdict in the Rodney King case, did you shut up, and accept the wisdom of that jury? Of course not! The verdict was outrageous, considering the overwhelming evidence. The African-American community rioted. Well, Jerome, I'm not rioting, but I feel as millions do that the Simpson verdict was also outrageous. I watched the whole trial, and Johnnie Cochran's shameless playing of the race card blinded that jury to the mountain of evidence. O.J.'s lawyers exploited the racist history of the LAPD to turn the trial into a referendum on the LAPD. And after a year-long trial, 3 hours is *not* meaningful deliberation. Interviews after the trial show that jurors did *not* understand the DNA evidence, which was *overwhelming*. (You contradicted yourself — you expected a conviction "due to the evidence the jury was permitted to see." But you say later he's not guilty?)

O.J. is a disgrace to African-Americans. He cheated on his first wife who was African-American. He chased an 18-year old blonde White girl, while his Black wife was home with his children. This is not showing respect for his race. I don't leap to the defense of White murderers because of their race. I don't think African-Americans should do the same for O.J. either. It is racist to do so.

O.J. and Johnnie Cochran used the Black community to let O.J. get away with murder, and next time that programs that benefit the African-American community are considered, I don't think there will be much sympathy from White voters.

And O.J. is back on the golf course with his Republican buddies, who are all White. Ironic, isn't it?

Sincerely, Phil Quigley

Thank you, Foutch

I would like to take a moment to thank Mark Foutch, Oly City Councilmember and Mayor Pro Tem for his effort to keep dialogue open with WIP. He is, at the very least, paying attention to the serious concerns being voiced. It is gratifying to see a politician trying to listen to as many sides of an issue as possible. It is also kind of surprising to see a politician coming to WIP on its "turf" and I'm glad to see that he did. Thank you.

Adrian Martinez

Legislative Update Line

Thurston County Hands off Washington has established a Legislative Update Line for the 1996 Legislative Session. By calling 786-8997, you can listen to a brief report on legislative action affecting the civil rights of Washington citizens. New messages are recorded every Friday evening, and each week we identify one or two easy-to-do action items. Please help us lobby for civil equality. Make a point of calling every week, and ask your friends to call as well.

1996 Works In Progress Historical Calendar

★★ JANUARY 1996 ★★
"We must encourage creative dissenters. We must demonstrate, teach, and preach, until the foundations of our nation are shaken."
Sun Mon Tues Wed Thurs Fri Sat
★ America is a great nation but . . . ★

- **The back-pages of WIP that everyone liked! Now redone for 1996!**
- **Jammed packed with historical information:**
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WORKS IN PROGRESS

Mission Statement: This organization is dedicated to promoting mutual understanding among diverse cultural groups and providing a voice for peoples disenfranchised by the dominant culture. We encourage the presentation of material by those most affected by exclusionary and unfair practices. Our aim is to explore the meanings of injustice and democratic participation in our society and in relation to the emerging global transition.

Anti-Discrimination Clause: We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

The following statement will become part of the Editorial Policy and will be the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause: *WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

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Greg Bye	Evelyn Montague
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Tom Freeman	Hali Panneton
Greg Hohnholt	Chris Russo
Craig Hymson	Marie Smith
Teresa Jennings	Sylvia Smith
Jerome Johnson	Pat Tassoni
Katherine MacRae	Dave Zink

Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the Workers In Progress and are solely those of the authors.

Correspondence/articles are always welcome. Articles on disk (text preferred). WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number. Send submissions to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

WIP Schedule

WIP article submission deadline is:

Friday, Feb. 23

On that day, there will be a meeting at SPEECH (218 Fourth Ave) at 6 pm. Call 705-2726 for info.

Proofreading Meeting

Monday, Feb. 26 at 7 pm
Olympia Timberland Library

Advertising Info

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BRIEFS

Thirty-two cents can change the world a little bit!

I just wanted to pass this along as a story unfolding, and to say "thanks" for your article on Rush Limbaugh radio and TV show advertisers [Sept 95 WIP]. I wrote to those that I supported with purchases, letting them know I was appalled and if they continued to support lies, hate-mongering and bigotry, I would no longer purchase their products/services. I've had good (PR) response.

Kinko's wrote back too, they must have then forwarded my letter. [to ABC Radio Networks. Director and Account Executive of ABC, Jim Pastor replied:]

"Kinko's has a policy against having their radio commercials air in any program presenting a one-sided viewpoint of controversial subject matter...In no way are they contracted as a sponsor or paid advertiser of any program which does not present both sides of a controversial issue."

Lynn Bornholdt

Captive Labor Force

As a follow-up to Manning Marable's piece on U.S. incarceration in last month's WIP, this reprint of Haider Rizvi's article "Captive Labor Force" from the Multinational Monitor draws attention to prison labor.

Thirty-nine states have authorized prison manufacturing of goods sold to the government or the private sector. Oregon's prison industry administration, UNIGROUP, now produces Prison Blues jeans that are sold in almost 500 U.S. stores and exported to France, Germany, Italy, and Japan.

More than 16,000 federal and more than 53,000 state inmates work for prison industries, which pay between 23 cents/hour and $1.50/hour. In 1993, the sale of U.S. prisoner-made goods amounted to $1.3 billion, sales that are expected to approach $9 billion by 2000, according to Grand Rapids, Michigan-based Prison Industries Reform Alliance, which represents businesses that compete with prison-labor industries. Such sales would represent the production of 520,000 prison laborers.

Wanted!

Compassionate, intelligent individuals to become a member of our collective community. We are a group of folks living simply who want to work for social change. Our community is based on the Catholic Worker Movement ideal, although we are of no religious affiliation. We were founded in 1983 as a small House of Hospitality and have since grown into a separate homeless shelter, community kitchen, and drop-in center for the homeless and needy. We can't offer much in the way of materialistic compensation, but the rewards are otherwise invaluable! We don't discriminate for any reason, but at this time are preferential to males due to the imbalance of the sexes in the current community.

If you are at a transitional stage in your life, or simply want to try something different, why not take a year and devote it to sharing with those in need? It could be quite an experience.

Write us at Bread & Roses, 1320 8th Ave SE, Olympia, WA 98501 or call (360) 754-4085 for more information.

Pat Robertson, Christian Broadcast Network Seek to Silence PFLAG's Anti-Violence Ads

Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcast Network (CBN) has mounted a series of attacks against PFLAG's "Project Open Mind," a national media and grassroots outreach campaign, launched last fall to combat anti-gay hate speech and violence. The campaign was launched last November in Atlanta, Houston and Tulsa. It features television ads containing anti-gay statements by Robertson, Jerry Falwell, and Senator Jesse Helms, juxtaposed against images of gay-bashing and gay-related teen suicide.

In December, Washington DC's largest law firm, Hogan and Hartson, which specializes in media rights, agreed to represent PFLAG pro bono against CBN's effort to silence PFLAG and its message.

PFLAG National President Mitzi Henderson said, "Our campaign is about saving lives by combating violence and hate speech. For CBN to block us from the air for political reasons is the height of callousness. We are committed to exercise our legal right to get our message on the air and compel CBN to stop its harassment and censorship attempts."

She noted her pleasure that Hogan and Hartson had the courage to stand up for PFLAG and its First Amendment rights and to donate its services.

Soon after the ads began airing in the three target cities, CBN threatened stations with lawsuits to prevent the ads from airing. Since CBN made the threats, no stations have run the ads, but other parts of the campaign go on.

UFW of CA Asks You To Please Do Not Buy These Wines

These companies are refusing to bargain in good faith with the UFW and give farm workers protections of a union contract.

Mondavi & Sons: *Charles Krug, C.K. Wines, St. Suprey Wines*

E & J Gallo: *Carlos Rossi, Andre Champagne,* all Gallo Wines

All wines from Modesto, CA are Gallo.

For more information call 206-493-7645.

Wal•Mart will be coming

Congratulations to the residents of Candlewood Manor who were able to purchase the property that they live on out from under the development plans of Wal•Mart. Wal•Mart's ruthless pursuit to establish a store in Thurston County will not stop with their foiled attempts to displace the fixed/low-income residents of Candlewood Manor — it only shows their corporate callousness more clearly. Wal•Mart will be coming. Watch the annexation permits and rezoning notices! Keep watching the annexation and zoning permits!

Alternative Visions:

It's not enough to say that the corporate domination of society is bad. What we need is **vision**. What is the alternative to capitalism?

This is the first in a series of mission, goal, and strategy statements from groups in the American Left. I am not taking sides in this series - *You* decide.

In my opinion there are two possibilities, both have their pros and cons:

1. The sectarian option. A few of the presently existing groups will leave the others behind and grow into mass revolutionary parties that will unite the left into a loose coalition that will use different approaches to defeat capitalism. Throughout this series, I will make sure to include the mailing address of each group at the end of it's mission statement.

2. The non-sectarian option. *None* of the presently constituted groups will grow into a mass revolutionary party. Instead, an inclusive, non-sectarian Labor Party will grow out of the labor movement, supplemented by coalition-building and fusion of most existing progressive parties and groups. For those interested in this option, contact:

Labor Party Advocates
PO Box 53177
Washington, DC 20077-3725

The main thing is to pick your issue and get involved. You can learn more in one week of active struggle than you can in a year of armchair revolutionizing! As bad as capitalism is, and as great as the socialist alternative appears in comparison, things will never change until we *get active*.

What is *your* vision of the new society we are fighting for? Send in your letters!

INTERNATIONAL PROTEST AGAINST FBI ABUSE AND TERRORISM AND FOR JUSTICE FOR LEONARD PELTIER

The U.S. government likes to present itself as the world leader in the cause of justice and freedom. But the fact of the matter is, within the U.S. there is a political police force that is used to suppress opposition to the social/economic/political policies of the government of the United States of America. From the early days of the FBI when it was used to suppress the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), through the "Red Scare" of the '50s, in the '60s it was used against the Civil Rights Movement, the anti-war movement, the women's movement and the labor movement, in the late '60s and early '70s it was used against the Black Panther Party, the American Indian Movement, the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, the Chicano Movement, other movements of poor and oppressed peoples, and against the alternative press, into the late '70s it was used against the anti-nuclear movement, then in the early '80s it was used against the Central American Solidarity Movement, including the Sanctuary Movement, then in the late '80s and early '90s it was used against the environmental movement, including Earth First! and the I.W.W. Through the years the FBI has said that it was only trying to "save" America from so-called violent groups, but the truth is they also had long campaigns against such noted nonviolent activists as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr and Cesar Chavez. There is no one that dares to speak out against the U.S. government that is safe from the FBI!

The Feb. 6th international protest is a call for the end of FBI abuse and terrorism. It is also a call for justice for Leonard Peltier and for Congressional hearings into the FBI abuses against Leonard and the traditional Oglala Lakota people of the Pine Ridge Reservation. [see calendar on back page]

An Open Letter on the OPD

by Jeff Cooper

I write in reponse to your ongoing coverage of the Olympia Police Department, as well as coverage I have read in the *Olympian* newspaper.

I have read the media coverage, listened to City officials and to ordinary people. I've read the Pendleton Report, too, and found it sorely lacking. The media serves as a forum for bickering by the officials, the Pendleton Report is insufficient and the people I talk to remain scared to death — literally — of the Olympia Police Department.

In the *Olympian*, City officials feud with the police chief on the front pages amid a deafening silence from the Op-Ed pages — the same deafening silence that answered Danny Spencer's death.

Why is there this silence *Olympian*?

The Pendleton Report is just as bad. It focuses on the troubled internal operations of the OPD, and God knows they are bad enough — racism, sexual harassment, poor leadership, inadequate training and equipment, petty infighting and savage office politics. When it comes to the relationship with the community it is sworn to serve, there is only the usual whining about "us vs. them" ("them" being us citizens), the "lack of support" from the City Council and the community.

Well, it's hard to support a Department which often seems to act as the private security force for some — not all, but some — downtown businesses.

It's hard to support a Department when citizens are beaten in the streets by its members, and when citizens die in the back seat of patrol cars "justifiably."

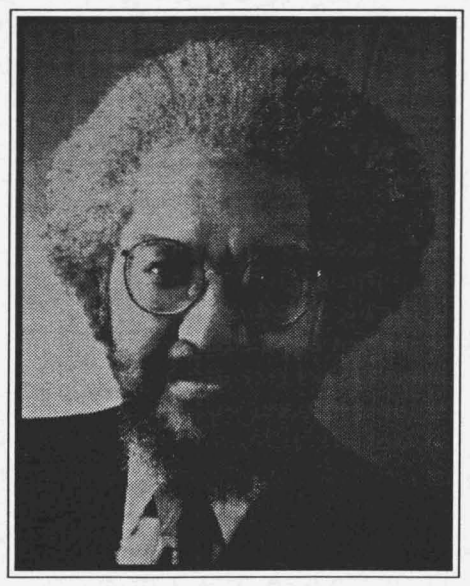
And it's not enough to call — as I do, as the *Olympian* won't — for the retirement and/or resignation of John Wurner and the senior command of the OPD. We need more than that. It's not enough to change names and faces, yet continue the same old same old — like Los Angeles, when they hired Willie Williams and thought, "The Problem Is Handled" because we have a black chief.

I call for something more difficult and more rewarding. I call for a community-wide debate — in public forums and private conversations — about what we, as a community, would like our police department to be. What kind of Department do we want? How should it be structured? What should be its focus? How should it behave?

Most importantly: to whom should it be accountable — themselves, City government, or us, the people? This is our community. It's our responsibility. It's our choice — end up like Los Angeles, or make Olympia into the idyllic place this long-time resident affectionately calls "a quiet place for the tired and retired, where I could raise my children." It's up to us.

Along the Color Line

Pan-Africanism: Yesterday and Today



Dr. Manning Marable

Exactly 50 years ago, in Manchester, England, black leaders from Africa, the Caribbean, Great Britain and the United States came together in pursuit of the liberation of the black diaspora. In its manifesto, "Challenge to the Colonial Powers," they declared: "We are determined to be free. We want the right to earn a decent living, the right to express our thoughts and emotions, to adopt and create forms of beauty. We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence..."

The 1945 Manchester Congress, led by black scholar W.E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah, was both the culmination of a historical process of black struggle which had begun a half century before, as well as a decisive political intervention to influence the events after World War II. Behind "Pan-Africanism" was the idea that people of African descent the world-over shared a common destiny: that our forced dispersal through the transatlantic slave trade, our common oppression under colonialism in Africa and the Caribbean, and under Jim Crow segregation in the United States, through the exploitation of our labor power under capitalism, and the denial of political rights, had created parallel contours for struggle. Our kinship was also cultural, social and historical, and we found within ourselves the genius and grace of being which was denied us by the racist standards of the white world. By renewing our connections, we forged a consciousness of resistance which could be felt across the globe.

The perspective of Pan-Africanism was first advanced in the international context by barrister Henry Sylvester Williams of Trinidad and Tobago, in the London conference of 1900. It was at this gathering that the young scholar, W.E.B. Du Bois, predicted that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line." After Williams' death in 1911, the Pan-Africanist movement was continued by Du Bois. The Pan-African Congresses were later held in Paris in 1919; in London, Paris and Brussels in 1921; in London, Paris and Lisbon in 1923; and in New York in 1927. These Congresses created the context for black intellectuals, political leaders and reformers to challenge the prerogatives and power of white colonialism.

We need coalition strategy creating a dialogue with environmental organizations and green political parties, linking the struggle against racism to a safe, clean environment.

Last month, black scholars and activists from Africa, the Caribbean and the US met in Manchester, England, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of that historic Pan-African Congress. I addressed the gathering on the challenges of Pan-Africanism in the twenty-first century, and its continuing relevance to black Americans.

The future of Pan-Africanism as a strategy for liberation depends upon our ability to bring together young people, workers, political organizers, trade unionists, women activists and intellectuals behind a common vision of black empowerment at a *global level.* The new Pan-Africanism must first challenge the structures of patriarchy within black communities and black organizations, creating a more egalitarian relationship between black women and men. So long as we tolerate the oppression of our sisters, our liberation moment as black people will never succeed.

The new Pan-Africanism of the twenty-first century must take a progressive stand on environmental issues and state of the world's ecology. We must address the utilization of the natural resources of the world; our reliance on petrochemicals and carbon-based technologies which foul the air and pollute our water; and the storage of toxic wastes which shorten the lives of our children. In the United States, three-fifths of all toxic waste dumps are found within a twenty-five mile radius of black or Hispanic communities. We need coalition strategy creating a dialogue with environmental organizations and green political parties, linking the struggle against racism to a safe, clean environment.

Pan-Africanism of the next century cannot define itself in biological, genetic or racial categories, but in terms of its politics and social vision. Race is a category of antiblack exploitation, a product of slavery, white supremacy, and economic domination. But race today also attacks the humanity of an entire spectrum of people: the Hispanics of California who suffer under the recently implemented Proposition 187, which denies their children access to education and denies their families admission to public health facilities; the Turks in Germany who encounter rampant discrimination and neo-Nazi gangs. The struggle against racism must be fought on a global, international level.

Pan-Africanism remains an essential democratic vision, to deconstruct and uproot the inequalities of racism; to challenge the unpopular capitalist "New World Order" represented by the IMF, the World Bank, and more recently by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Pan-Africanism remains vital as a political framework bringing together the collective perspectives of people of African descent in our eternal struggle to assert and to affirm all humanity. Our struggle for the empowerment of the African world is, as W.E.B. Du Bois wrote, "the last great battle of the West."

Dr. Manning Marable is Professor of History and Director of the Institute for Research in African-American Studies, Columbia University, New York City. "Along the Color Line" appears in over 275 newspapers and is featured by 80 radio stations across the US and internationally. ◆

Rally for Working Families

Monday, February 19

9:30 Check in GA Bldg
11:00 Rally and March Capitol Steps
1:30 Legislative Hearing on Key Labor Issues

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Jennifer Harbury Speaks in Olympia

Elisa Crispi

On Friday, January 19, 1996 Jennifer Harbury came to Olympia and spoke at TESC and First United Methodist Church. Jennifer Harbury is a woman who has had the determination and courage to face the atrocities that are currently going on in Guatemala. She is a Harvard graduate, author, attorney, Central American solidarity activist, and widow. Her husband, Efrain Bamaca Velasquez was a commander (Comandante Everardo) for the Guerilla forces and fought in ORPA. Ms. Harbury states he was tortured to death under the funding of the C.I.A.. Ms. Harbury has been continuously trying to obtain information regarding her husband's death from U.S. and Guatemalan officials, but neither has relinquished any information to her. She has gone on three hunger strikes which have brought her international attention. She has spoken of the lies which the U.S. government and Guatemalan government have told her to stifle her persistence in obtaining information on her husband. Ms. Harbury has filed a lawsuit against the C.I.A. alleging that they have covered-up the Guatemalans on the C.I.A. payroll who are responsible for her husband's death. Ms. Harbury is a woman of great strength, courage and virtue. She is fighting a war that no one has ever won before and she does not intend to give up.

Ms. Harbury's opening statement was that of thanks and appreciation for the audience's interest in Guatemala and what the U.S. is doing. "Guatemala is a paradigm of what is happening all over the world to indigenous people." Ms. Harbury interprets her case as an illustration, a symbol of what many people have gone through and are going through. Socio-economically Guatemalans are very similar to the people of South Africa. 80% of the population are Mayans who have been enslaved to a society where they are suffering from starvation and illiteracy. Guatemala has the second highest infant mortality rate in the hemisphere, second to Haiti, and there is only a limited source of employment. The Mayans are extremely discriminated against and are mocked and punished in schools if they speak their own languages. Somehow they have managed to preserve their 26 languages, their culture, and religion. "They've never stopped being Mayan and never intend to." When the Mayans have attempted to retaliate against their conditions, "Barefoot Peasant Rebellions" have occurred, resulting in a battle between fire power and bare fists.

"Guatemala is a paradigm of what is happening all over the world to indigenous people."

Efrain Bamaca Velasquez grew up on a plantation and didn't learn to read or write until he ran away from it. It was the Guerilla forces who later taught him to read and write. He became the commander and when Ms. Harbury met him, he was the last of his group. Ms. Harbury and Efrain Bamaca Velasquez met at Tajumulco Volcano. Ms. Harbury was interviewing women combatants for her book. Velasquez had been appointed to this location as commander. The research she was doing was for her book, "Bridge of Courage," about combatants' life stories. Velasquez's first wife was shot to death in front of him and his second wife was captured and tortured to death.

On March 12, 1992, Velasquez was in a brief combat and was the only one missing afterwards. The army claimed they had found him dead and would bury him. Ms. Harbury was given a perfect description of her husband; down to every feature. She later discovered from Santiago Cabrero that her husband was in fact still alive at that time. Cabrero, a 23 year old eye witness in 1992 was a prisoner of war for two years and was able to escape from the military base. This escape was extremely unusual and one that no one had ever succeeded in before. He informed Ms. Harbury at that time that there was a new military experiment in action. This military experiment included capturing soldiers and then torturing them to extremes which would eventually make them "snap" and work for their army. Cabrero referred to his torture as a 'softening up period' which included being hung by a rifle hook and beaten with cement blocks, having his toenails beaten out of him, enduring electrical shocks to his testicles, and being buried alive for several days. Cabrero somehow managed to maintain faith in his freedom through this 'softening up period' and convinced the army that he was theirs to mold. Having succeeded in convincing the army that he now belonged to them, he was able to escape. Before he left he saw Velasquez strapped to a medical table; he had bandages all over his body, and had swelled to three times his normal size. This was one of the tactics taken in the 'softening up period.' There was always a doctor at hand during these 'procedures' to ensure that the captives did not die and could be kept alive for further interrogations. Cabrero was able to speak with Velasquez for a few minutes, and there is no doubt that he could have mistaken another man for Velasquez considering that Velasquez was his commander for some time and they had spent extended amounts of time together. He saw Velasquez again at the end of July 1992 in horrible condition.

Ms. Harbury, both appalled and thankful for Santiago's account, went to the OAS (Organization of American States) and demanded to have her husband's body dug up, and see the autopsy report so that she could confirm his death herself. The autopsy report did match that of the man in the grave, however the man in the grave was not her husband. Whoever the man was had not been killed in combat either. He had obviously been subjected to severe torture; his ankles had been tied and he had been beaten severely. The man was only 18 and her husband had been 33 years old. The man was also only 5'3 and her husband had been 5'8. The man also had two gold teeth and a moustache which Velasquez did not have. The army's only response to this 'mishap,' was, "We couldn't tell, because all Indians look alike." Ms. Harbury believes that there is no doubt that her husband was subjected to extreme and long term torture, because as commander he was very valuable in terms of the information to which he had access.

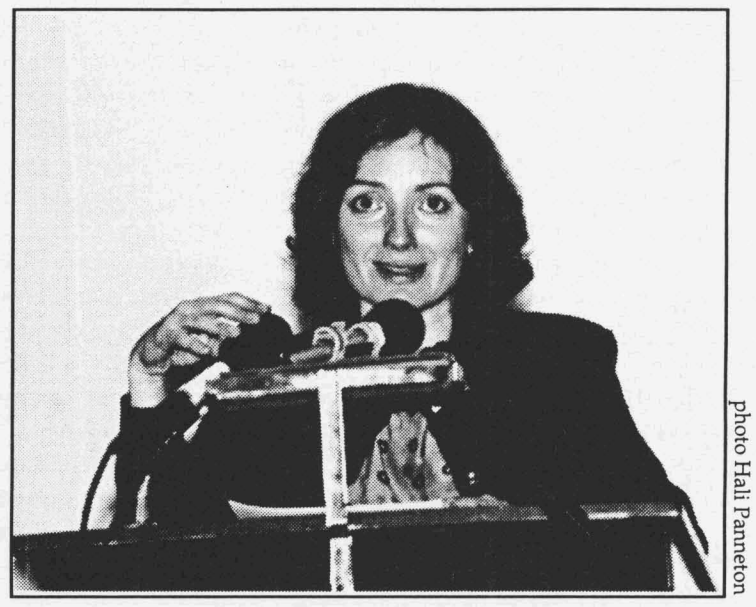


photo Hali Panneton

Ms. Harbury went on her first hunger strike for seven days in front of the Army Intelligence, Poly Technica, in order to get some response as to where her husband was and what had happened to him. People were really supportive during this time and she attained a lot of publicity. People would drive by, risking their lives, screaming things such as, "Viva Bombica." The Embassy's only response was that they mentioned it to the army and they didn't have him; "What else can we do." Meanwhile the human rights violations in Guatemala were rising rapidly.

By the end of 1994, Ms. Harbury was still hearing that her husband was alive, but the war was coming to a close. She knew that if a peace was established they would no longer need Velasquez and he would be killed. She became frantically determined to take whatever means necessary to make her voice heard and her husband's life valued. She went on her second hunger strike in front of the National Palace and only consumed electrolite (saline solution, potassium, and water) in order to keep herself clear minded. To prevent from passing out she would bend and tie her shoelaces. She was placed as #1 on a public death list of 8 in Guatemala. On the 32nd day of her hunger strike the army took her to three different grave sites. Trying to wear her down, she was dragged for five hours in the tropics and eight hours under the blazing sun. She asked for any sanctions, any pressure, anything at all that would give her information as to her husbands condition, but got nothing.

"60 Minutes" did a show on Ms. Harbury's case and claimed that the Embassy does have information on Velasquez. They stated that he was captured alive by the Guatemalan army and when captured he was lightly but not seriously wounded. He had, however, been kept as a secret prisoner.

As soon as Jennifer began eating again, she stopped getting attention. She decided to go on a third hunger strike in front of the White House. On the 12 day of this hunger strike, Mr. Toresseli, a congressman from New Jersey told her her husband had been executed without trial in 1992. Ms. Harbury states that the C.I.A. and the Embassy knew the entire time that her husband had been alive, but never told her. Her speculation as to why they concealed this information was that it was much safer for the reputation of the U.S. government in order to avoid emberassment and a very disturbing truth; which is that our government does fund procedures such as this one. Ms. Harbury states she has the documents which prove that the C.I.A. knew the whole time that her husband was a prisoner of war.

Ms. Harbury was sued in Texas in an attempt to get her marriage with Velasquez annulled so that she will no longer be entitled to any files or information. The marriage is the only obligation the army has to release Velasquez's files. The State Department claims that the C.I.A. didn't tell them that her husband was dead, but she says she has a report that states he was and that they knew he was.

Evidently, Velasquez is claimed to have been buried in a 'secret cemetery' in Las Cabanas Military base. Ms. Harbury gave information that two hundred civilians have been killed by death squads. More than half of all death squad killings anywhere have taken place in Guatemala. According to Ms. Harbury the UN certifies secret prisoners, rapes, killings, torture procedures, and secret cemeteries. Villagers who live by the Las Cabanas 'secret cemetery' have confided that they have heard screams in the night since 1980. Ms. Harbury claims that anywhere between 500-2,000 bodies have been buried there.

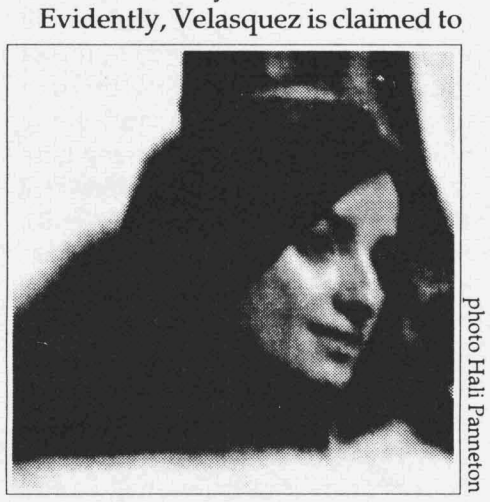


photo Hali Panneton

Ms. Harbury's response to the media coverage she has received since her hunger strikes has been two-sided. While she is grateful that her case is getting attention, she is also overwhelmed by the numerous cases of Guatemalan women who have at-

(Continued on page 11)

Coffee: Solution or Revolution!

Zemora Moon

The genus Coffea contains anywhere from 25 to more than 100 species depending on the authority with approximately 60 species being the standard acceptance. Most species of the genus, more or less 33, occur in tropical Africa as well as a few species in South Africa and about 10 South-East Asia. The focus of this paper is Coffea arabica, being the most economically important, accounting for approximately 90% of the worlds coffee crop. The species canephora (Robusta) is about 9% of the coffee crop worldwide and liberica accounts for only about 1%.

History

The first suspected use of coffee was as a masticatory ground up and mixed with animal fat by goat herders in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) where arabica is found naturally. In approximately 1000 AD Arab traders brought coffee home and are the first to cultivate it in plantations. This was also where boiling the beans was first practiced and where Avicenna, a Mohammedan physician and philosopher, was the first to write about the medicinal properties. By 1300 the beans where being roasted and crushed then boiled and consumed grounds and all.

In 1511 Kair Bey, governor of Mecca, prohibited coffee only to be revoked by the sultan of Cairo marking t he first, but not last, coffee prohibition. During this time the conquest of the new world in the name of Christianity by Spain and Portugal had well begun and European style governments and plantations were being established in what would become the large st coffee growing regions of the world. In 1517 coffee was brought to Constantinople by Sultan Selim 1 where the first coffee houses where opened in 1554. In 1615 coffee was sent from Constantinople to Venice being the first place in Europe to receive it. In the following year Holland received coffee from Mocha. The spread of coffee in Europe had thus begun arriving in England in 1637, France in 1644, Virginia in 1668, and Germany in 1670. European coffee houses opened in many major cities and enjoyed widespread popularity.

In 1658 the Dutch began coffee cultivation in Ceylon, but not until 1699 when they sent plants to Java (hence the name) did commercial cultivation by Europeans take hold. These Javanese plants were destined to become the parents of 90% of todays coffee market when a plant was sent to the Amsterdam Botanical gardens. In 1713 a cutting from this plant was sent to Louis the 14th of France. The seeds of this plant were used in plantations in the French colonies of Haiti, Santo Domingo and French Guiana.

In 1727 a Portugese military officer was sent to settle a dispute between French and Dutch Guiana. While settling this dispute he also managed to smuggle a coffee plant back to Para, a Portuguese colony, in the bouquet from the wife of the French Governor who he had a secret love affair with. It was here in the same year that the first successful coffee plantation in Brazil was started. In Brazil at this time the system of slave labor in the agricultural industry was already firmly in place. The conquest had killed most of the natives through maltreatment and disease so they had to import black slaves from their own colonies in west Africa to supply the increased work effort coffee would demand. Brazil was not alone in this trend. The Spanish and Portuguese had set up similar systems throughout the western hemisphere where coffee would spread its roots during the 1700's and early 1800's.

U.S. Involvement

Mexico is the second largest producer of imported coffee in the U.S. About half of this coffee is grown in Chiapas which has been known as one of the slave states of the region since the first years of conquest.

1773 was the year of the Boston tea party making coffee the patriotic beverage of what would become the world's most powerful nation. In fact coffee houses were one of the places the revolution got it's start. From day one the primary political theory of U.S. has been that its security and prosperity are dependent on the exclusion of foreign ideologies. This myth was layed into stone with the drafting of the Monroe Doctrine that states the U.S. has the moral right and imperative national interest to maintain the western hemisphere as a region of U.S. influence. In other words, to protect the new world from the old. During this time and throughout the 1800's Latin America gained independence from its conquestors and the countries we know today began formation.

Coffee's popularity in the U.S. and Europe increased rapidly causing the introduction of the plant into countries in Africa for the first time as well as additional plantations on new lands in South East Asia and Latin America. In the U.S. and other western nations the birth of the industrial revolution was taking place and many patents were issued for improved milling, roasting, packaging, and plantation equipment making large scale production a reality. In 1882 Maxwell House started in Nashville, and in 1900 Hills Bros. became the first to package coffee in tins using a new patented vacuum process commencing the shwag coffee trend. The industrial revolution also meant increased military power.

In 1895 the U.S. navy was becoming very powerful and in 1898 defeated the Spanish in the Spanish-American war acquiring Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines; all three were coffee producing countries. With the affirmation of this new military might Teddy Roosevelt issued the Roosevelt Corollary. This reinforced the Monroe Doctrine beginning a series of military interventions in the newly independent Caribbean, South and Central American countries. In light of this malicious disregard for the process of democracy, Latin America shifted defense concerns from Europe to "the colossus of the north."

Throughout this century while the U.S. intervened militarily in all of the American governments with the highly possible exception of Canada, coffee caught up and surpassed the economic importance of all other commodities other than oil. New plantations pushed out substinance crops making it necessary to import foods such as corn that could be grown more cheaply in the U.S. Due to the paranoia of U.S. leaders any remotely liberal or communistic government has been subverted with the use of: military funding; conservative propaganda in the media; CIA involvement; political assassinations; support of conservative military coups, revolutions and invasions; and when all else fails, outright military invasion as in the case of the Dominican Republic, Grenada, Nicaragua, and many others (Castro's involvement in Cuba being the only failure from the U.S. perspective).

Military and other assistance has been provided to fascist military regimes who look favorably to the U.S. to support their power. Funding for this assistance in the form of loans created government debts that are payed back with extremely cheap prices on resources creating impoverished labor forces.

As the industrial work ethic buzzed ahead with a morning cup of joe, coffee growing countries world wide were and continue to be strangled for their resources through corrupt U.S. sponsored governments that work on the destruction of the environment, forced labor of peasants and the genocide of indigenous peoples. If policies do not start to change, the time will inevitably come that the same plant that is exploited will aid a new revolution in the coffee houses it is served in.

Mexico and Zapatistas

When people are exploited for their labor and forced into conditions that don't allow even the most basic needs for survival, armed uprising is often the only answer as is the case in Americas backyard, Mexico. Mexico is the world's fourth largest coffee producer and it is the second most imported coffee in the U.S. About half of this coffee is grown in Chiapas (southern Mexico) which has been known as one of the slave states of the region since the first years of conquest.

In 1910 Emillio Zapata rose up and led peasant and indian troops in this region while Pancho Villa led rebel forces in the north creating success of the Mexican revolution. Zapatas cause was agrarian land reform for the people and in 1917 when the revolution had been won large acreages previously owned by land tyrants, such as the Catholic church and the United Fruit Company, were redistributed as campesinos (small 4 acre lots) to the peasants and indians. A law was created stating that such pieces of land could not be sold, but only redistributed to other workers. Continuing redistribution was planned and Zapata, being a farmer not a politician, returned to work his fields only to be shot two years later.

Since the revolution governmental politics have slowly returned to a pre-revolutionary state. The PRI (National Revolutionary Party) has had dominance in the presidency since the revolution. Carlos Salinas, replaced by Ernesto Zedillo on December 8 1994, made some major changes to the agrarian policies by removing all subsidies on coffee and other food crops as well as changing the law protecting land ownership making the sale of peasant lands permissible for the first time since the revolution. This in combination with the fall of world coffee prices in 1989 caused many peasants to sell their land in favor of the new higher paying factory jobs being created in the city.

NAFTA is a policy that furthers the development of industry in Mexico, but it hurts farmers even more because food crops can be imported from the U.S. without tariffs. The Mexican government in conjunction with the U.S. has done much to further industrial development and little to help campesinos. These policies cause uneducated and unorganized campesinos to have to sell their land to larger plantations or to the Mexican banks who sell the land to booming industries. This is why the EZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Army) invaded many small towns in Chiapas on January 1, 1994, the same day NAFTA was enacted. Unfortunately, the fighting that ensued drove many farmers in the region from their lands during the essential harvest months. Thousands of ripe berries rotted on the abundant branches. This may have hurt some organic co-ops who are trying to make a difference through economic power instead of armed struggle.

The Zapatistas are calling for the return of agrarian land reforms, democracy, and the equal say of women (an added plus), but the government continues to arrest, detain, and torture those caught during their present military pursuit in the Lacandon jungle. Torture is a routine police and military practice used to interrogate regardless of guilt or innocence. The U.S. just recently supplied more tanks, jeeps and other weapons to Mexico for this cause. Mexico is just one example of the situations found in the worlds "underprivileged" nations and the story looks grim, but as a consumer one can make a change. ◆

Lightning at the End of the Tunnel:

U.S. Military Involvement in Mexico's Quagmire Deepens

Peter Lumsdaine

"Satellites, telecommunications equipment, infrared rays track (the indigenous peoples') movement, locate its centers of rebellion, mark on military maps places to plant bombs and death."- Subcomandante Marcos in Mexico: The Long Voyage from Sorrow to Hope, 1994

Outside the spotlight of major media coverage and public awareness, the United States is quietly backing into a potentially wrenching military conflict south of the border, as U.S. financing, training, technology, intelligence, arms, advisor and political commitment are provided to bolster a shaky and corrupt Mexican regime-a regime that is steadily acquiring an arsenal to wage war against its own people, if they dare to seriously challenge the entrenched status quo. The hundreds of Mexican civilians who have already died at the hands of government troops and police during 1994 and 1995 alone, like the hundreds of millions of dollars in imported weaponry for Zedillo's army and the billions in bail-out money for the ruling elite, may -tragically- be only the beginning, if current U.S. policies are allowed to continue.

The consequences of an escalating civil conflict in Mexico, with heavy United States government support for a violently undemocratic elite of billionaire narco-politicians, will inevitably spill over the border: inflaming U.S. economic and social instability: promoting domestic militarization; sharply increasing the numbers of immigrants and refugees, requiring more and more U.S. aid, weapons shipments, advisors and potentially even combat troops to prevent the collapse of a regime on which Wall Street and Washington have already staked tens of billions of dollars. From the jungles of Chiapas and the scorching desert shantytowns of the 2,000 -mile border, to the slums of the world's largest metropolis, Mexico City: civil war in a nation of 90 million souls, just south of the Rio Grande, would be an unprecedented crisis for all the people of the North American continent which we share. It is not yet too late to change course and support peace through justice in Mexico, rather than continuing to financially and military prop up a violently undemocratic government there.

Space-age Surveillance and High-Tech Firepower for the new Indian Wars

The fortified block-wide U.S. embassy in Mexico City has long been the largest State Department and CIA outpost in the Western Hemisphere, with one of the highest staffing levels of any such installation in the world. Its rooftop satellite radar dishes link the embassy complex to the Pentagon's network of sophisticated tracking stations and surveillance aircraft -stretching from NORAD'S global headquarters inside Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado and the sensor-riddled U.S./Mexican border region to Cerro de Extranjeros (Aliens Hill) in Chiapas, on into Guatemala and Columbia. Headquartered in this high-tech command post, (former) Ambassador John Negroponte former diplomatic manager of U.S. wars in Cambodia and Nicaragua -served as Bush and Clinton administration point man for promotion of NAFTA and corporate investment in Mexico. On February 10, 1995 the New York Times reported that American intelligence services" actively assisted in determining the (alleged) identity of Zapatista leader subcomandante Marcos, in preparation for the federal army occupation of eastern Chiapas and harsh imprisonment of accused Zapatistas.

Uncle Sam's traditional role as primary weapons supplier to Mexico intensified during the era of political turmoil in the crisis-torn '80s, when debt austerity polarized the society and massive government fraud stole an historic Presidential election victory from leftist opposition candidate Cuatemoc Cardenas. By the early 1990s, United States military assistance credit programs were providing some $40 million per year in equipment to Mexican security forces, along with another $45 million in State Department and DEA (Drug Enforcement Administration) grants. Ironically much of the military aid sent to Mexico in recent years has gone under the banner of the Drug War, despite conclusive evidence linking the Mexican government and army to international narcotics trading evidence which the July 31, 1995 New York Times showed was systematically covered up or deliberately ignored by top Democratic and Republican officials, in order to protect NAFTA, the bailout loans, and the "stability" of the Mexico's ruling establishment.

From 1988 to 1992 the U.S. exported over $214 million of arms to the PRI regime, according to the widely respected Mexican Journal El Proceso, some 16 times as much as the second-place supplier, France. Last year, in the wake of the Zapatista uprising and weeks before the fraud-tainted national elections, Clinton authorized a new arms export package for Mexico, including over $64 million of sophisticated electronic equipment and satellite-guided UH-60 Blackhawk helicopters from United Technologies Corporation (a transnational company based in Connecticut, with a rocket motor plant at the south end of Silicon Valley). In the 36 days preceding last Summer's scandal-ridden Presidential balloting, AP reporters saw 23 tanks and nearly 300 tons of "war material" being unloaded on Veracruz docks. And on May 23, 1995 the New YORK Times reported that Mexico's U.S. supplied military helicopter fleet could be nearly doubled, to almost 200, by Pentagon transfers now under discussion, including several dozen state-of-the-art Blackhawk choppers.

U.S. Huey and Bell 212 helicopters along with C-130 Hercules troop transport planes, were immediately brought into action as the Mexican army and federal police tried to crush the indigenous Zapatista uprising in Chiapas last year. Eyewitnesses saw the choppers attack Mayan Indian communities with machine guns, rockets and bombs - and no word of protest was ever issued from the Clinton administration or its Republican rivals, despite the supposed agreement that U.S. aircraft would be only used against drug dealers. These imported military aircraft played a decisive role in the lopsided January 1994 conflict, when over 400 Indian peasants were killed in 12 days, according to the human rights report of Catholic Bishop Samuel Ruiz.

The hundreds of Mexican civilians who have already died at the hands of government troops and police...may -tragically- be only the beginning, if current U.S. policies are allowed to continue.

Likewise, during the February 1995 army offensive when Federal troops - who had occupied much of Chiapas since the previous year - sent 25,000 Mayan campesinos fleeing into the mountains, U.S. supplied and financed foreign military hardware played a critical role. On the heals of the Mexican bailout deal, International Monetary Fund loan, and a Chase Bank memo demanding "the elimination of the Zapatistas", a year-long cease-fire was broken as high-tech surveillance craft, fighter jets, helicopter gunships and transports, tanks and armored bulldozers thundered forward through the Lacandon rainforest in a terrifying show of force.

Even the traditional advantage of indigenous villagers, refugees and peasant rebels being tracked by state security forces - the ability to slip away through their well-known local forests and hills - is rapidly being eroded by advances in U.S. satellite warfare - which the October 30, 1992 *Los Angeles Times* called "the most critical power" in Pentagon worldwide military intervention. Especially crucial to this space-age counterinsurgency are Navstar GPS guidance systems, on which the Mexican army - like the U.S. Special Forces Command and the Chinese military - has been spending "considerable amounts" according to the authoritative studies in Jane's 1995 *Intelligence Review*.

U.S. Tax Dollars, Training;, and Troops - from Chiapas to Texas

The dangerously deepening pattern of United States military involvement in Mexico goes beyond the massive exports of weapons and surveillance technology outlined above, to encompass not only large-scale U.S. taxpayer financing for this arms build-up, as well as training for hundreds of Mexican officers here in the States, but also the presence of U.S. police agents, Army advisors, high-level CIA operatives, and teams of United States Special Forces soldiers.

Beyond the tens of millions of dollars in military hardware sent south of the border under Clinton and Bush aid programs, part of the multi-billion U.S. tax dollar bailouts and 'loans' has unquestionably gone to help underwrite the Mexican narco-political elite's high-tech shopping spree, financing purchases from Pentagon stockpiles as well as from government-licensed U.S. weapons manufacturers, and from the global arms market.

From 1984 to 1993 at least 725 Mexican military officers were trained by Pentagon experts in the States, 150 of those in 1993 alone, with 94 officers graduating from Fort Benning, georgia's notorious School of the Americas in 1992 and 1993 - a 300% increase over previous years. By the year of the Zapatista uprising, nearly four dozen paramilitary police advisors from the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency were working closely with Mexican security and intelligence forces, from the U.S. border to southeastern Chiapas - where the CIA also fields a substantial, expanding network of agents and covert operatives, according to ex-CIA officers John Stockwell and Ralph Mcghee. Finally, U.S. troops - including elite Special Forces counterinsurgency teams have already been fielded within Mexico's conflict zones, often under cover of the Drug War campaign - though the numbers and missions of these clandestine units remain shrouded in secrecy and financed by the Pentagon's classified multi-billion "Black Budget" slush fund. U.S. military attaches have been sighted in Chiapas during army crackdowns, and as U.S. Special Operations Commander, General Carl W. Stiner, has said, Special Forces teams "Provide advice, assistance and deterrence to officials in areas experiencing insurgence (or) instability .. . signal U.S. resolve to both allies and adversaries, enhance stability and promote U.S. influence ... when larger U.S. forces may be politically unacceptable." Only ten years later has the truth about U.S. Special Forces troops machine gunning 83 peasant rebels in a Salvadoran forest camp, along with CIA supervision of Honduran torture squads, finally surfaced in the mainstream *Seattle Post Intelligencer and Baltimore Sun*.

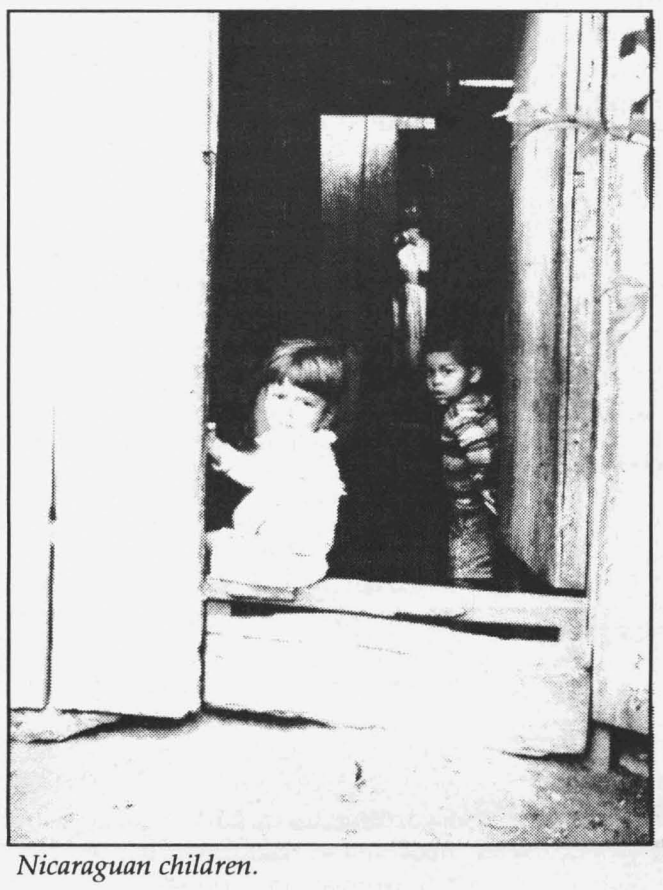
Spilling over the border, according to the *San Jose Mercury News* and the Pentagon's own journal, *Defense '92*, its military intelligence and assets are deployed from California to the eastern Rio Grande, in a network of listening and observation posts, ground-based and aerial reconnaissance, motion sensors, ground surveillance radars, dog teams, "terrain denial" technologies, Nighthawk Systems infrared scopes, and computerized fingerprint machinery as well as GPS satellite-guided airplanes, helicopters and jeeps - $158 million worth this year (1995). By April the Clinton

(Continued page 11)

Local Central America Activist Spends December in Santo Tomás, Chont

Jean Eberhardt

The roosters start crowing at three in the morning, though it's still dark for another two hours. I fall back asleep under the mosquitero until the neighbors' radio begins blaring very loud música rancera from ten feet away at 4:30 a.m. Between this and the shrill roar of the motorized masa grinder in Don Gregorio and Doña Isidora's kitchen, I give up on sleep and begin my day. Stepping out of the little room that the family I've known for ten years has partitioned off for me, I see a number of sleepy women and children. Doña Isidora and two of her daughters operate the *molino.* Neighbors have carried large buckets-full of cooked corn on their heads from their houses. They will pay one or two cordobas (12 or 24 cents), some more, some less, to have the corn ground in seconds by the molino. Long gone are the days of the stone metate and the hand cranked grinders are beginning to disappear. I heard that some people buy and use packaged dry masa flour. I know that this masa cannot possibly taste as good as fresh masa.



Nicaraguan children.

These women of Santo Tomás will make and feed their families large stacks of thick flavorful tortillas cooked on a sheet metal comal over an open fire. Some mothers will send their daughters through the morning streets to sell tortillas door to door to the wealthy families: the store merchants, the cattle barons, the lawyers and private doctors, etc. and also to the restaurants. Some vendors will pass the day selling tortillas with chunks of cuajada (a simple salty unaged cheese) to people passing through town on the highway that connects the Atlantic coast to the more populated and Spanish speaking western Nicaragua.

Slow but steady traffic moves through town: rattling taxis carrying people from there to here; crowded busses topped with baskets of produce and chickens bound for larger markets; overloaded pickups with many *quintales* (100 pound sacks) of dry shelled beans; well maintained vehicles driven by foreigners who work for NGO's (non-governmental organizations); trucks with cattle headed for export; logging trucks loaded with endangered tropical hardwoods also destined for foreign markets; hand pushed wooden carts carrying precious firewood from miles outside of town to sell to many of the 18,000 inhabitants who can't afford to buy a gas stove, tank and fuel. Eventually, no one will be able to afford the deforestation and its severe effects on the climate and the economy.

....

The question that brings me out of my musing is:

"Como amaneciste Jean?"

"Pues, con sueño todavía, pero bien, gracias. ¿Como amanecieron Uds.?"

"Regular... no tan bien y no tan mal...."

"How did you wake Jean?" "Well, sleepy still, but good, thanks, and how did all of you wake?" "O.K... not so good and not so bad...."

With no scorpions in sight and my flashlight in hand that sends cockroaches scurrying, I make my predawn visit to the latrina. I head for the baño to pour bowls of cold water, scooped out of the concrete basin, over myself. This wakes me up! On the good days, this is invigorating and on the other days, it is totally shocking to my system. I am warned never to do this at the end of the day when the body is agitado.

We breakfast on gallo pinto (fried rice and red beans together) tortillas and fresco (fresh fruit drink) or cafe.

Most of us clear out of the home for the day. Don Gregorio and Isabel (one of his daughters) take the four hour bus ride into Managua to see if she has passed the admissions test for the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua. Isabel wants to study medicine. She would like to be a doctor. Isabel would be the first in her family to attend college. The family will have to make additional sacrifices to support her studies.

Isabel's brother Roberto is working as a mason in Costa Rica and her sister Juana (who visited Thurston County in the 1990 delegation) works in a parking lot in downtown San Jose, Costa Rica. Unemployment levels range from 60-80% of the population across Nicaragua. Some families are partially supported by members who work outside of the country. Most families do not get this outside support. There are no signs for an improved economy in Nicaragua looming in the foreseeable future. For the tens of thousands of Nicaraguans who were employed by the army in defense of their country and for the thousands employed by the CIA in the contra (counter-revolutionary) war of the 80's, there are no replacement jobs. There is a whole generation of Nicaraguans that were employed in the war and not in productive work. The current government has laid off thousands more who were state employees, such as teachers, health care workers and bureaucrats.

My close friend Padre Ignacio tells me that many combatants in the war got used to taking food from campesinos. Some paid for it, some stole it. Now stealing and armed assaults are common in both the countryside and the cities. The increased levels of this violence come not only out of an extremely depressed economy but from a cultural shift as well. War has not made people more thoughtful. There's a noticeable hopelessness from having lost so much blood and opportunities. The education programs, the accessible health care system, the massive land reforms, the nationalized natural resources--these are all being whittled away by the current government that is highly responsive to the demands of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF).

My days were spent accompanying Padre Ignacio to different communities and visiting a variety of projects that he has helped to organize. Unfortunately I arrived too late to visit the rural schools that we support as the scholastic year had just ended. Another TSTSCA member and Evergreen student, Elizabeth Roderick, will visit the schools in February and write about them in a Spring newsletter.

I also worked in the comedor infantíl with Doña Aurora and a dozen other volunteers who made a daily lunch for over 300 hungry children. The strategic adjustment programs of the IMF have directly impacted Sto. Tomás in numerous ways, including the end of the funding to the comedor. This sent the community scrambling, and Swiss Aid and their sister city in Mol, Belgium have covered some of the gaps for now.

I attended the 11th graduation ceremony of the sewing school. There I spoke on behalf of the Olympia to Nicaragua Construction Brigade that I was part of in 1988. We began building a two story structure for a women's sewing cooperative in Sto. Tomas and financed most of the labor and mate-

Communications Union Strike

When I arrived in Nicaragua in late November, the telephone and postal workers union was on strike. The conservative dominated National Assembly had recently approved the privatization of TELCOR, to meet the demands of the IMF. In response, walls and bridges and billboards were spray painted with the insistent call to stop selling off Nicaragua's property, to listen to the workers and not give in to international corporate pressure.

TELCOR is a profit producing government resource. AT&T is likely to be the buyer of this potentially lucrative industry and in the long term, Nicaragua will lose a significant source of income. In the short term, the sale profits will pay the indemnification costs to the previous owners of confiscated property. The confiscations have been the focal point of Senator Jesse Helms' fanaticism against Nicaragua. It has also been one of the sources of polarization among the political parties in the National Assembly. The strike effectively bought the government to the negotiating table and the workers ended the strike within two weeks. They were assured that they would not lose their jobs, seniority or suffer wage cuts, and that the workers will retain a percentage of the shares. The bulk of the shares will be sold however, and another page turns in history.

The Pastors for Peace Caravan

Delivery to La Clíni

The Thurston-Santo Tomas Sister County Association brought a delegation of two community activists from Santo Tomas to Thurston County in October. The activists, Reyna Cabrera, a teacher and Doña Aurora Baez, a city council woman and coordinator of the children's free lunch program asked the Association for financial and material aid for a health clinic in Santo Tomas. Many donations added up to a $2,000 check that they took back with them. Health care activists from Thurston County acquired supplies and equipment that were transported to Nicaragua with the Pastors for Peace caravan.

Jean Eberhardt took an additional community donation of $1,000 with her during her December trip to Santo Tomás. This article relates images of Jean's experiences with the clinic in Santo Tomás.

Jean Eberhardt and Li donations brought by

I timed my travel to Nicaragua to rendezvous with the Pastors for Peace Caravan that arrived in Managua on December 1st. I arrived at the drop off site with Luis Enrique (Doña Aurora's son) and the ex-mayor of Santo Tomás, Eduardo Cabrera (Reyna's cousin). The numerous trucks and caravanistas had emptied thousands of sealed boxes of material aid, (gathered by many sister organizations in the US), onto the ground in clumps corresponding to their destinations. We readily found the GYN exam table donated by Virginia Mason Hospital in Seattle, with the 14 boxes that we had packed in early November in Olympia.

We returned to Santo Tomás with quantities of very useful medical supplies and surgical tools as well as some school supplies and three sewing machines. I met the three doctors, several nurses, pharmacist, administrator, receptionist and accountant at the health clinic. On behalf of all of us who took part in the two week push to organize our participation, I received their deep appreciation for the donations of medical goods.

I was invited to see their new four

ontales, Nicaragua

rials to finish it. The building now houses a 12 woman co-op as well as an 80 students per year program. I was excited to see the project going well, especially after a near closure of the cooperative several years ago due to the competition of cheap used clothing from the US that has flooded the markets since the lifting of the trade embargo.

When teacher Reyna Cabrera and city council woman Doña Aurora Baez from Santo Tomas visited some schools in Thurston County in October, Reyna brought a few letters from some of her students. The positive response that she received, especially in the Komachin and St. Michael's middle schools resulted in her returning to Nicaragua with many letters from new pen-pals. In December, I met with the young adult evening education classes and took photographs of over 40 students who wrote to their new Thurston County friends. These prints were matched up to their letters as well as copies sent back to the Tomasinos. Hopefully, these relationships will deepen and perhaps a youth delegation could visit Thurston County sometime.

In the midst of a Nicaragua under intense stress, my visit with its people was, as always, incredibly rich. The general feeling of hopelessness is offset by the actions of the committed activists such as Aurora and Reyna and Padre Ignacio to maintain social programs that make the difference between survival and death for so many.

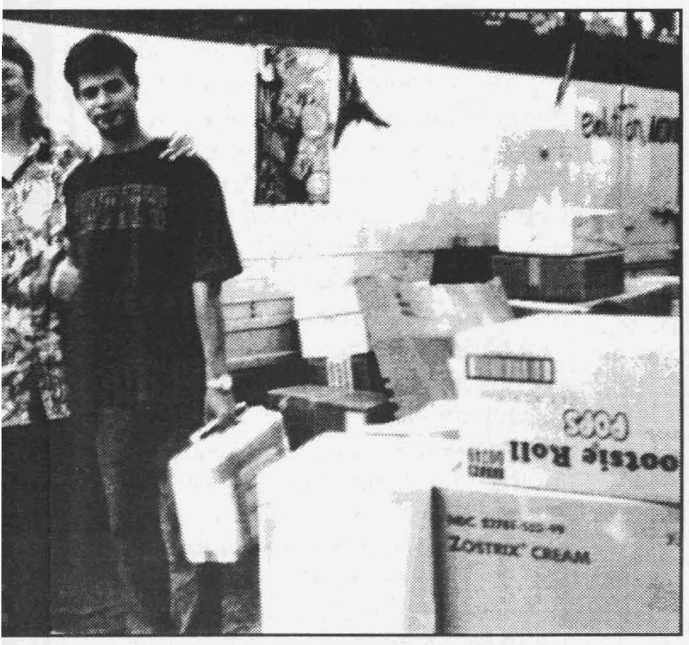
As Doña Aurora accompanied me by bus to the airport on my last morning in Nicaragua, she left me with her optimism: "Eventually, we the people of Nicaragua will again succeed with our mandate to redistribute fairly the wealth of our country. We learned a great deal during our revolution, from both triumphs and grave errors. We will be free." ◆

van Arrives in Nicaragua

ínica Popular de Santo Tomás

room building for gynecological care and obstetrics in action. I assumed that the GYN table would go into the exam room, but because of a lack of surgical tables and a birthing bed, it went into the delivery room which also doubles for minor surgery. I watched a tubal ligation performed on a woman who'd given birth to her fifth child the night before. The newborn boy and his grandmother awaited her in the four bed recovery room. The surgeon, anesthesiologist and nurse worked quickly and I recognized some stainless steel surgical instruments that we had sent. I noticed that the clinic's other GYN exam table was used for the surgery, that one of the two funky desk lamps stopped lighting halfway through the operation, that the room was very warm and the house fan was barely moving air and that only the anesthesiologist wore a mask and cap. She would frequently wipe the surgeon's profusely sweating face with a cloth. The health care workers chatted with the patient who was under local anesthesia and encouraged me to take more pictures. They kept a light banter going during the operation. The surgeon told me what a relief it was to have a decent supply of tools to work with, but to look at the conditions they were working in. He asked me to note the need for a Mayo stand (a portable table to hold instruments) good lighting, circulating air, an operation table, masks, caps and gowns, more specific surgery tools, and eventually EKG and ultrasound equipment. (The nearest EKG and ultrasound equipment are one hour away and expensive to use).

Gladys Prieto, the health clinic administrator wrote a letter to the sister county association, thanking us for our concern and our timely assistance. They were able to purchase a significant quantity of pharmaceuticals and to pay off a small debt on the construction of the new wing. At the clinic I saw the glucose level testing equipment in use as well as the stethoscopes and blood pressure cuffs. I met a little girl with Hepatitis A, a young man with respiratory problems, and elderly woman with a tumor on her skull. I saw children getting vaccinations, pregnant women and later on their newborns.



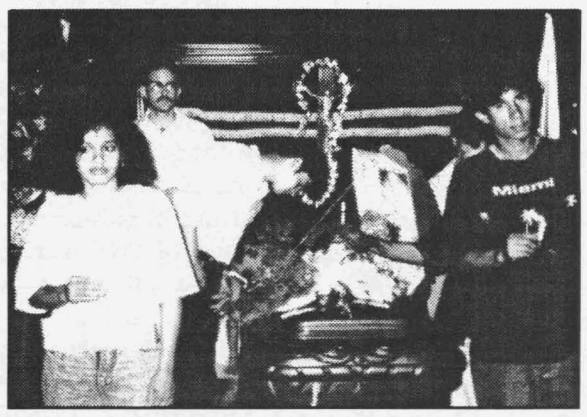
lt and Luis Enrique Miranda picking up material goods and ought by the Caravan to Nicaragua.

I met again with the Santo Tomás student that we are supporting in medical school in Managua. Maria Salvadora Gonzáles Sólis will spend her January vacation volunteering in the Clinica Popular. She is excited about her fifth and final year that begins next month. 1997 will find her interning in a hospital, followed by a year of social service working where the government places her and in 1999 she expects to return to Santo Tomas to practice as a licensed medical doctor.

If you can help support Maria's education or have any questions about her scholarship, please call me at 943-8642. Also call me to obtain a list of medical equipment and supplies needed in the *Clínica Popular* in Santo Tomás.

Police Open Fire on Demonstration

On December 12th, thousands of students, professors, deans and administrative personnel from the national universities of Nicaragua took over the international airport in Managua. The airport was closed for several hours and incoming flights were redirected to Costa Rica. The universities are on strike, in protest of the continuing failure of the current government to approve sufficient funds for the operations of the universities. The constitution of Nicaragua decrees that 6% of the national budget will fund higher education and continue to make it accessible to Nicaraguans. The struggle for the 6% comes up every year as accessible education is not a priority for the Chamorro government.



December 20th wake for Geronimo Urbina, the second student killed during the protest marches.

On the following day, during a march from the University of Central America to the National Assembly, protesters were met by anti-riot police. Attempts to negotiate for access to a presidential spokesperson were denied and the police opened fire, with not only tear gas, but bullets. Two demonstrators died and 50 were wounded and taken to the hospitals. Police officials deny giving orders to use deadly force, the government has not ordered an investigation, and the right wing press suggested that student agent provocateurs may have shot fellow students to create a sympathetic response to their "economically unfeasible demands." People are outraged and wonder how much more blood it will take to make the government comply with the constitution.

Protest marches continue.

"6%" University protest march on December 20th in Managua.

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Sister County Ass'n and Pastors for Peace Caravans to Latin America
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(Corner of Legion and Jefferson, next to Fish Tail Brewery, Olympia)

Donations welcomed
February 18th/3 p.m. to 9 p.m.

Current Images from Nicaragua
by Jean Eberhardt

Monday, January 29th, 7 p.m.
First United Methodist Church
1224 E. Legion Way
(Use NE corner entrance on 5th and Boundary)
Refreshments provided

Jean Eberhardt will present slides from her December 1995 trip to Nicaragua. She will address the status of various projects of the Sister County Association and deliver greetings from Aurora and Reyna (October 1995 Santo Tomás delegates) as well as from Padre Ignacio, Virgilio and Juana (October 1990 Santo Tomás delegation).

the THURSTON SANTO TOMÁS sister-county association

The current events and upcoming elections in Nicaragua are and will be tumultuous. The discussion will include these issues as well as focus on Santo Tomás, Chontales

For info: 943-8642

Working to Build the Peace in El Salvador

Bob Zeigler

El Salvador: A Land of Contrast And Extremes

El Salvador is a country with great beauty and also destruction. A people many of which have great compassion and some with extreme selfishness. A country in economic ruin and despair that drifts again towards civil war and yet communities of empowerment and hope. At the base community level where poor are organized and decide their future, development occurs from the bottom up. People maintain vision and hope in spite of national structural injustice. They provide a hope for appropriate 3rd world development. Many positive things are being done by non governmental organizations. CEDRO (Centro de Education y Desarrollo Rural) has reforested 400 acres, conserved 3,500 acres of hillside in agroforestry and cut pesticide use by 30% in 7 communities. In Suchitoto, The Committee for the Defense of Women supports and defends women who have suffered and continue to suffer men's violence physical, sexual or psychological. They are attending and coordinating training and empowering themselves to legally denounce violence, demand child support and accompanying women in crisis. In and around El Salvador, Emmanual Baptist Church continues in ecumenical efforts to develop base communities. (They wrote to thank us for our support of baseball equipment and children's books for the squatter's community of La Linea and our solidarity. They ask that we continue to be in solidarity with them.) Jose Alas' Institute of Technology, Environment and Self-Sufficiency (ITAMA) works on small scale, environmentally protective development projects in rural El Salvador so some Salvadoran communities can live a better life. (In addition to funds for their efforts, they are searching for donated computers.)

Political and Economic Situation

The right wing, ARENA Party currently controls the Presidency (Armando Calderon Sol) and the Assembly. However, there are opposition members (in different conflicting parties) also in the Assembly. ARENA receives its political support from El Salvador's elites and the military officers (new elites). It also receives significant support from many in the middle class. The middle class increased from 2%-19% of the population as a result of the war and money sent to families in El Salvador from relatives who fled the war. ARENA also receives support from people who have learned the safest political position in El Salvador is support for the ruling elites who really control the country.

In Land Reform, Recipients Inherit Enormous Debts

Land transfer programs have not fully taken place. Also peasant farmers who received land in the Peace Accords also received crippling debts making subsistence farming very difficult. Also many peasant farmers received land but not the title of ownership that is necessary to receive credit. Without credit for tools and seeds, farmers cannot produce. Three Catholic nuns who visited El Salvador have asked U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, Alan Flanigan, to relieve the peasant farmers of their crippling land debts. The Ambassador told them this was impossible. They pointed out to him that the United States has a moral responsibility to help reconstruct El Salvador, devastated by 12 years of civil war.

Peasant farmers also need access to markets to survive. In 1982 in an attempt to win back poor farmers from the armed opposition (FMLN), former Salvadoran President Napoleon Duarte took 7000 hectares of land in San Miguel and provided it to five cooperatives. The land was formerly owned by one of El Salvador's "fourteen families." It was used to raise natural fibers to make rope and coffee sacks. The former wealthy family owns the factory for processing the natural fibers. They buy from the cooperatives but at the price they want and not the price the coops need. The peasants are working the same crops, for the same low wages, but now have an impossible bill to pay to the government, for the land their families have worked for generations. Jose Alas' ITAMA is currently working for the cooperatives providing organizational, legal and logistical support and is working with the coops to determine a socio/economic and environmental course of action for self-sufficiency and sustainability.

In land reform programs, access to credits and markets will be needed by peasant farmers. Cafe Salvador with its direct marketing to U.S. consumers provides an important alternative to the "Free Market" Cartel system. (Note: Cafe Salvador is available at the Olympia Food Co-ops and Bayview Market.)

A country in economic ruin and despair that drifts again towards civil war and yet communities of empowerment and hope.

Polarization Among Left

The opposition to ARENA is struggling to determine what is practical and possible as well as maintain a vision of a just society in El Salvador. With different analyses come different approaches. The following may be a gross oversimplification of complex political and social realities.

In the civil war the rebel FMLN consisted of six groups (FPL, PRTC, PCS, ERP, RN and FPL offshoot, FCER). They pursued a goal of overthrowing the Salvadoran military juntas and planned to install a socialistic government so that Salvadoran economic resources could be equitably shared and economic justice occur. The FCER was betrayed to the Salvadoran Army by an FPL informer. FCER troops also were ambushed and executed by ERP and RN troops. In a war within a war, FCER fought the Salvadoran army and remaining FMLN. When the FMLN signed the peace accords in 1992, the peace accords were opposed by FCER. The remaining FMLN formed political parties, ran in the election. In 1995 the FMLN broke into two segments:

1. The Social Democrats (ERP and RN) who observed the economic collapse of socialist nations (Nicaragua, Cuba, and Soviet Union) plus the interference of the U.S. that would prevent a socialist government from operating. They work to include small business and break the middle class's support for the right. They are accused of giving up the socialist goals and of selling out the revolution. They have made compromises with ARENA in the Assembly. 2. The Democratic Socialists (FPL, PRTC and PCS) who maintain socialist goals but are working for reforms of existing structures. They do not compromise with ARENA. They appear to accept capitalism as El Salvador's short term reality. They have been criticized for the paternalistic approach of coming up with answers for the poor rather than empowering the poor to come up with their own answers.

As a result of state attacks on protesters, lack of implementation of the peace accords and continuing poverty and misery, a new break has occurred among the former FMLN. Six groups have formed that advocate armed struggle to establish a socialist society in El Salvador. More may exist or become public in the future. The current political situation of increased poverty, more polarization between rich and poor and army and police repression may coalesce these groups into a united guerrilla group and escalate the conflict to the point of civil war.

One Salvadoran analyst said: "There won't be peace unless there is a radical change of society and by this I don't mean 'reforms, but a complete overhaul and re-structure of society."

Impacts of Extreme Poverty, World Bank Policies and Neo-Liberal Economics

The Neo-liberal Economic Model: Maquiladoras or Free Trade Zones have existed in El Salvador for some time. They are promoted by World Bank structural adjustment policies for loans and are increasing dramatically. In the Maquiladoras or Free Trade Zones, foreign industry is invited and guaranteed no limits or restrictions from labor or environment concerns. They pay no taxes. Labor unions are not allowed. They pay extremely low wages and violate human rights. They hire Salvadoran enforcers who beat workers for slight negligence, fire pregnant women, and allow no breaks.

With NAFTA-GATT, more and more goods produced in Maquiladoras will be sold in U.S. stores. Unfortunately with the high levels of unemployment in El Salvador, jobs in the Maquiladoras are much sought after by El Salvador's poor.

El Salvador's Catholic Auxiliary Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez described El Salvador as "beset by increasing social tensions and social polarization" and "violence on every street corner and hunger due to the high cost of living...(in a country) slipping dangerously back to bad habits of the past."

Don Andres Caledonio, former president of coffee cooperative at San Antonio de Zacamil said: "They say the war is over. Ha! The war was never so bad as the bandits' attacks. This is war!"

Vatican Attempts to Silence Liberating Church

The Vatican appointed Fernando Saenz Lacalle as the Archbishop in El Salvador. Archbishop Saenz is Spanish born and a member of the very conservative Opus Dei. His former ministry was to the Salvadoran military and he has strong ties with El Salvador's oligarchy. It appears that he was chosen over activist Salvadoran Auxiliary Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez to limit democratization of the Salvadoran church and instead install an orthodoxy and top-down approach. The Vatican has pursued this agenda in the Americas and Europe. While the Pope speaks out in favor of "preferential option for the poor" and "need for solidarity with the oppressed," which is the basis of liberation theology, the Vatican sees liberation theology as a threat to its power and has worked to silence and eliminate it. However, the exact opposite may be the result. The Christian Base Communities will continue to identify appropriate actions in light of their own reality and not be constrained by a bureaucratic and increasingly irrelevant hierarchy. The loss of power may be the Vatican's instead of practitioners of liberation theology.

Local Catholic churches, clergy and lay persons continue to work for the poor in base communities along with Baptist, Lutheran and Episcopalian clergy and lay persons. An activist Catholic newspaper, *Sentir*, is being published to provide a more prophetic Catholic presence than may be available in the Archdiocese.

A national Salvadoran opinion survey taken by the Central American University showed 54.7% felt Archbishop Saenz's appointment was good for the church but that 83.1% said the Archbishop should denounce social injustice. (Archbishop Oscar Romero had been a conservative until he was converted by the poor and the military attacks on clergy working with the poor.)

Pope John Paul II will visit El Salvador on February 8 as part of a trip that will take him to Guatemala, Nicaragua and Venezuela. Auxiliary Bishop Rosa Chavez warned that he may not find a country in peace when he visits because of the poverty and social tensions and polarizations. ◆

Mar. 12 - Anniversary
Assassination of Rutillio Grande S.J.
March 24 - Anniversary
Assassination of Archbishop Romero

Starbucks' Code of Conduct

On October 20, Starbucks Coffee Company released a "Framework for a Code of Conduct" outlining minimum standards for working conditions for overseas producers from whom they buy. Starbucks had first announced their commitment to adopt such a code in February, 1995 after being targeted by a North America-wide U.S/Guatemala Labor Education Project grassroots campaign.

Between February and October, Starbucks educated themselves about existing codes in other sectors and consulted with a wide spectrum of people with experience in codes from both industry and consumer groups, including the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, the International Labor Rights Fund, the International Union of Foodworkers, the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility and U.S./GLEP.

The document represents the first time that a U.S. commercial coffee company has set criteria for coffee selection that go beyond quality and price to include the working conditions under which coffee is produced. As such, it establishes the critical principle that U.S. coffee companies can and should take responsibility for working and environmental conditions under which coffee is grown.

Starbucks has said that the code is to apply to their purchases worldwide, but that Guatemala will be the initial pilot country for implementation. Starbucks also says that in 1996 they will also develop a strategic plan for implementation of their coffee mission for at least Indonesia, Ethiopia, and Kenya, and possibly other countries as well.

The Starbucks code now needs to be translated into concrete improvements for Guatemalan coffee workers. Enforcing the code will be a complex task given the difficulty in tracing the precise origins of most coffee beans, although there are at least some specific plantations from which Starbucks knows some of its beans come.

Write to Starbucks and congratulate them on this important first step in support of the people who grow and pick their coffee. Also express your interest in seeing some concrete implementation in the near future. Contact: Howard Schultz, CEO, Starbucks Coffee Company, PO Box 34110, Seattle, WA 98124. If you would like to receive a copy of Starbucks' "Framework for a Code of Conduct, contact Jeanne McKay at the above address or call 206-447-1575.

To find out more about the worst human rights violator in this hemisphere (Guatemala), which is now home to 350 factories producing clothing for brand-name U.S. companies, including JC Penney, Wal-Mart, K-Mart, Van Heusen, and Gitano contact U.S./GLEP c/o ACTWU 333 S. Ashland Ave., Chicago, IL 60607 (312) 262-6502 or usglep@igc.apc.org. ◆

(Harbury, Continued)

tempted to locate their husbands, and have been killed in the process. Rosario, a Guatemalan woman who was trying to locate her husband as well, was proclaimed to have been killed in a car accident with her daughter. However, upon being found, she had been badly beaten and she and her daughter's finger nails had been pulled out. These simply are not the typical injuries from a "car accident." The message sent to women who attempt to locate their husbands is; "If you look for your husbands, you and your children will end up dead." Ms. Harbury is adamant in expressing that the only difference between her case and the numerous cases in Guatemala is that she is a white woman and the women in Guatemala are brown. She is also dismayed by the fact that her case is the only one which has brought any attention to the genocide against the Mayan population in Guatemala. Another substantial difference between her case and most cases is that she was able to obtain an abundance of information, whereas most women are unable to find any. Thanks to people such as Mr. Toresseli and Santiago Cabrero, she has been able to support her case with actual evidence.

Most recently, Ms. Harbury's lawyer's car was blown up and the safe house she resides at when in Washington, D.C. was shot into. No one was hurt from either of these incidents, but they did express a clear and threatening message.

Ms. Harbury left Olympia directly following her presentation at First United Methodist Church and spoke in Seattle on Saturday 20. She will be leaving for Guatemala on Sunday 21. Her intention is to maintain her stance and not succumb to intimidation in Guatemala. Her purpose is to prove her marriage to her husband is valid and then become co-prosecutor and send Alpirez, one of the people who she believes is responsible for the death of her husband, and others to prison. If the outcome of her case is as she hopes it to be, she will succeed in exposing the 'secret' intentions and tactics the U.S. government is funding in Guatemala, and condemn all those responsible for her husband's torture and death. Guatemala has the most militarized government in the world, and yet they are not being invaded. "We need a ban on agencies' ability to do 'secret' procedures. We created this army, now we must dismantle it." When asked how she maintains her willpower, she responded matter of factly, "I've lost a lot of friends in Guatemala, I don't want to lose any more."

Ms. Harbury clearly states that Guatemala is one of the last places where there are Mayan, indigenous peoples, and that it is being completely exploited. She encourages that people demand that Clinton declassify all files since 1954. She stresses that Guatemalans have a right to know about their family members and that U.S. citizens have a right to know what the C.I.A. is doing in Guatemala. Ms. Harbury is asking that the people of the U.S. demand that the government account for what is really happening.

If you would like to help in any way you may contact the Guatemala Human Rights Commission in Washington D.C. at (202)529-6599. "If we all respond at the same time: phone calls and letters do make a difference. People power can work in the U.S. if it's tightly focused and worked on in unison. We can make a huge impact." ◆

(Harbury, Continued)

administration had publicly admitted that if new upheaval in Mexico occurred, the U.S. Army would begin rounding up and detaining undocumented Latinos in military internment facilities - an operation unprecedented since the depths of World War II. Through Mexico, the reality of Pentagon/CIA counterinsurgency wars - like the Third World's economic crisis is already beginning to come home.

With the Mexican army going onto "Red Alert" at the edge of a second guerrilla front in Guerrero this summer, and the stresses in Mexican society straining toward the breaking point, U.S. military involvement in Mexico is sliding down a darkening slope with the fires of deepening conflict, but no daylight, at the end of the tunnel. This Fall may represent the last chance to re-evaluate and change course before the momentum of escalation spins out of control.

Lumsdaine has worked for over 15 years on the staff of peace and global justice organizations, and in 1994 finished a two year federal sentence for disabling an Air Force satellite. He is currently available to speak in more details on topics related to the content of this article, and can be reached at Global Exchange, 2017 Mission St, Suite 303, San Francisco, CA 94110, 414-255-7296. ◆

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– *E.B. White*

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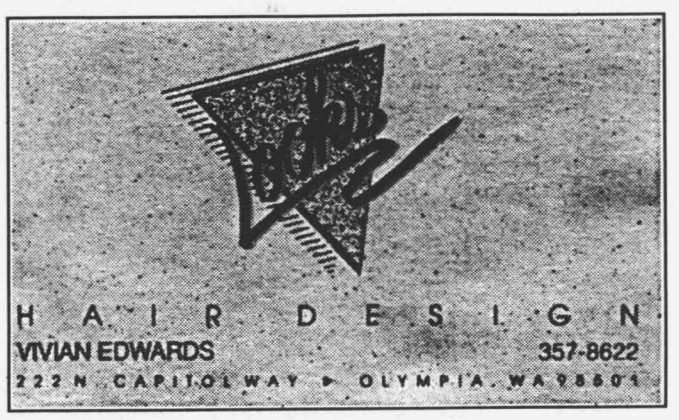

Portrait of a Multi-National Company: intel®

The INTEL Connection to U.S. Nuclear Weapons

Lon Freeman

The world has been living in the midst of stockpiles of nuclear weapons for 50 years, shrouded in an official culture of secrecy. We have been poised on the brink of utter destruction by an increasingly sophisticated system of launch on warning alertness, at the consequence of a numbed sense of malaise and the dim recognition of potential extermination. Contamination of large tracts of land and people from the activities conducted at production and testing facilities remain largely unabated, while disclosures have been publicized of uninformed human subjects who have historically been made guinea pigs by intentional radiation dose experiments. (See current issue Jan/Feb '96 of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists on this last point). All of this is documented and ought to be well known by now. All of this and more for the modest cost of about 4 trillion dollars ("The U.S. Nuclear Weapons Cost Study Project", 1995, The Brookings Institution, Stephen I. Schwartz, et.al.; forthcoming as a book, 1996).

However, the Cold War is over, reductions in superpower strategic weapons are proceeding, and the threat of all out nuclear war seems remote. We have become complacent.

Less well known at this time are the plans for a virtual scientific revolution in the nuclear weapons design, manufacturing and testing complex in the U.S., and probably among the nuclear weapons states of the NATO alliance generally (Great Britain and France). The French nuclear tests under way since this past summer on Muruoa and Fangataufa Atolls in the South Pacific represent an effort to archive crucial weapons data for future laboratory and computer simulation experiments. The data is needed for validation of weapons codes for potential design considerations under a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), which will prohibit weapons tests by actual explosion. The U.S. has been providing assistance in this effort and the Intel Corporation already has an installed base of supercomputers at ONERA (the French national space agency) which is being used in part to design French missile systems at Matra Defense Corp. Intel may cash in further if the French need higher performance computing resources for their nuclear weapons program under a CTBT. Intel's Scalable Systems Division (SSD, based in Hillsborough, OR) is charged with supercomputer development and marketing. Intel SSD has an office in Paris. Both the mainstream and the progressive media in the U.S. have neglected to report comprehensively on this underlying motivation in the current French nuclear testing program. There has been reporting of the demonstrations, the boycott of French products, of Greenpeace's intervention at the test sites, but no analysis of French motivations vis-a-vis the need for a final round of empirical test data to gauge against an informational (simulated) environment for future weapons development under the CTBT.

Cooperative efforts have also been undertaken in Russian research facilities, at least up to the present time. According to Dr. Vladimir Iakimets of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the laboratory at Arzamas-16 reportedly has an advanced laser facility, "Iskra-5", capable of studying thermonuclear fusion ignition processes and high energy-density plasma transport processes, which are key parameters for the potential refinement of "secondary" stages of thermonuclear weapons design. These capabilities are among several factors that obviate the need to continue underground weapons testing in the advent of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty ("Laboratory Conversion and CTB Negotiations", paper delivered at Russian-U.S. seminar in Nizhny-Novgorod, June 22-24, 1994; cited in "Laboratory Testing in a Test Ban/Non-Proliferation Regime; M. Veiluva, J. Burroughs, J. Cabasso, A. Lichterman; Western States Legal Foundation and Greenpeace USA/International, April, 1995). Additionally, the U.S. has reportedly offered to provide China with computers that could aid in nuclear weapons explosion simulations as an incentive for signing onto the pending CTB Treaty ("Perry Emphasizes Pacific Stability", The Washington Post , Oct 19, 1994, A34). Coincidentally, the Intel Corporation has sold at least 2 supercomputers (Scalable Intel Paragon XP/S 5Gfs) to Daqing Oil Corp. in China in the past 3 months with more to follow, ostensibly for oil exploration purposes. This pattern indicates that the technical revolution in the nuclear weapons complex is being ushered in under the guise of enabling and complying with a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), currently being negotiated in Geneva, and targeted for signing by late summer of 1996.

Contamination of large tracts of land and people from the activities conducted at production and testing facilities remain largely unabated, while disclosures have been publicized of uninformed human subjects who have historically been made guinea pigs by intentional radiation dose experiments.

The CTBT is a long sought measure that progressives have been struggling for, over decades, as a significant step in the path of disarmament toward eventual elimination of nuclear weapons and their means of production. Certainly, a comprehensive test ban prohibiting the detonation of nuclear weapons is a favorable development, if only for the discontinuation of the environmental assault on the Earth. But to equate an end to empirical detonation testing, that is, actual nuclear weapons explosion tests, with an end to nuclear weapons design experiments and production modernization is a fallacy.

The pace of research and development (R&D) in supercomputing technologies, including computationally intensive areas of applied mathematics (Fast Fourier Transforms, Wavelet analysis and transforms, other estimation techniques for the solution of Partial Differential Equations, Direct particle-field Simulation Monte Carlo methods) are at the frontier of nuclear weapons research. Techniques of numerical simulation and computer modeling of the intricate, complex interactions occurring in nuclear detonations are being developed at the 3 national nuclear weapons laboratories: Lawrence Livermore National Labs (CA); Los Alamos National Labs (NM); and Sandia National Labs (NM and CA), all funded and owned by taxpayers via the U.S. Department Of Energy but operated respectively by the University Of California and the Lockheed Martin Corp. (for Sandia and Oak Ridge National Laboratories).

The Intel Corporation has a $46 million contract from the Defense Programs division of DOE for the current fiscal year alone to develop the next generation of supercomputing resources, known as a teraflop machine, (trillions of calculations per second; utilizing a scalable, concurrent, distributed memory, massively parallel processor architecture, over 9,000 of Intel's new commercial P6 chips) to be housed at Sandia but which will link the 3 weapons labs in a supercomputing network. The computing resource will be used primarily for simulation studies of nuclear weapons detonation processes and weapons effects studies, which have potential use for future designs of 3rd generation nuclear weapons, (possibly pure Fusion weapons, and directed intense Microwave weapons; public communication from Dr. Theodore Taylor, former director of the Defense Nuclear Agency DNA) even under a CTBT regime. Intel has other contracts from the Department Of Defense (DOD-ARPA) to develop supercomputing operating system software to accomplish this technically formidable task. Other Intel supercomputers are currently in use and procured by the DOD, particularly through the High Performance Computing Modernization Office (HPCMO) acting as a computing coordinating agency for the Defense Research and Engineering Network (DREN), an elite military research network.

It is evident to this writer that the nuclear weapons establishment and the highest levels of our government are setting about a course of refining the understanding of fundamental properties of nuclear weapon physics, chemistry and materials science in the hope of maintaining the nuclear weapons stockpile into the indefinite future, in the advent of a CTB treaty regime.

The impetus to setting this new course in nuclear weapons "stockpile stewardship" ostensibly is to assure the safety, reliability and performance of the reduced stockpile of weapons established under the limits of START II (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, which reduces the allowable stockpile size to 3500 active weapons of seven different types in the U.S. arsenal from the current size of 14,000, both active and inactive). The maintenance of the enduring stockpile, including replacement of nuclear and non-nuclear components is to be accomplished without the benefit of certification (actually re-certification) by "proof testing" the functional integrity of the entire weapon system, (that is, without weapons explosion tests, which may be prohibited at any yield if there is a zero threshold ban established by the CTB treaty).

Therefore, U.S. policy is setting its hopes on a constellation of R&D initiatives to achieve rigorous simulation and modeling capabilities to maintain a robust nuclear arsenal into the 21st Century. Specifically, the implied planning timeframe for maintenance of the enduring stockpile is through the year 2035, as current documents are accounting for. The typical shelf life for weapons in the arsenal over the past 50 years has been approximately 15 years. The aging of nuclear components of weapon systems in particular is problematic but the interaction of aged components, both nuclear and non-nuclear over a planned 40 year stockpile life is fraught with uncertainty due to the lack of any experience of weapons behavior in such time frames. The increasing sophistication of simulation, modeling and experimentation efforts just getting under way is, at one level, aimed at rectifying this lack of experience in maintenance and replacement requirements. All of this is by way of stating that a deeper, more fundamental theoretical understanding of nuclear weapons physics, chemistry, and materials science is being sought through advances in computational science in conjunction with experimental diagnostic facilities.

The nuclear weapons manufacturing infrastructure is an integral part of this modernization program under the guise of a disarmament program. The massive production complex is undergoing reorganization and redesign for flexible manufacturing capabilities oriented toward the potential for rapid weapons production of diverse designs in a national security emergency, and of limited production runs. Instead of mass production of large quantities of weapons types in the arsenal over extended periods, the manufacturing design goal is now seen to be the capability of rapid production of perhaps refined warheads with uniquely tailored design features for particular theaters of nuclear battle under diverse circumstances.

The unifying conceptual element of this nuclear weapons technology

(Continued next page)

What is Fascism?

Dave Zink

What can we learn from looking at the Fascist seizures of power in the Europe of the 1930's? How can we stop it from happening here?

First, we need to be clear about the difference between "normal" capitalist reaction and its more virulent fascist expression. The "fascist" epithet is used too much these days. It tends to be hurled at conservative Republicans in order to justify support of lesser-evil Democratic "liberals". In fact, its because of the lesser-evil myth that Democrats in power are often able to deal blows that the Republicans couldn't get away with - at least not without triggering mass resistance.

Such misuse of the fascist epithet has the effect - intended or not - of *helping* the rapid growth of a mass fascist movement. This is because, like the "boy who cried wolf", such false alarms ill prepare working people for recognizing fascism when it *does* appear on the scene. That mistake can have disastrous consequences.

Fascism is a different animal. It is especially virulent because, among other things, it masks its anti-labor and bigoted message behind radical-sounding populist rhetoric along with "anti-capitalist" and "anti-imperialist" phrase-mongering. Its radical-sounding demagoguery is designed to divert the discontent of the middle class and the demoralized of the working class away from the ruling class and toward one or another scapegoat for capitalism. History's two most notorious fascist demagogues, Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, mobilized powerful mass fascist movements by precisely these methods. Hitler even went to the point of falsely labelling his movement "national socialism"!

More and more people are bound to start realizing that capitalism is at the root of their problems. Fascists will exploit this growing anti-capitalist mood by speaking out in populist fashion against Japanese or European "imperialism" and for "our" "hard-working businessmen" and entrepreneurs. They will slander and bluster about "Big Labor" (unions). They may link all this up with references to international Zionism. At some point, they will begin scapegoating one minority group after another - blacks, hispanics, gays, AIDS victims, even people with disabilities - as a menace to America. Fascists are also strengthened by a widespread mood of cynicism and futility. Neo-nazis are already spreading propaganda on the internet in the hope that a charismatic leader will come along. There will be a new Hitler. But it is *not* inevitable that he (she?) will triumph.

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Fascism will make bogus appeals to patriotism. They will talk about returning to the good old days. But this is the age of the Multi-national Corporation. Strengthening "our" beleaguered businessmen to better compete against "foreign imperialists" is totally bogus. It would amount to relinquishing even more of our freedom to the trans-national ruling class, which has so clearly put profit ahead of everything else, including the national interest. The answer to growing trans-national power, is to strengthen links and build international worker's solidarity.

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The Left must not allow the Right to control the symbolism of patriotism. Some groups like the Revolutionary Communist Party, with its flag-burning tactic, alienate the very people who must wake up and learn the facts of life about capitalism. By their tactics, the RCP is falling into a trap. We must reclaim the flag for the people, not burn it!

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Sooner or later massive resistance to assaults on our living standards will grow. Workers will start to seriously challenge capitalism on the streets and picket lines, and in sit-down, workplace occupation strikes. As we show the power that class-conscious organization brings, many in the middle class who are being ruined by the economic crisis will be drawn to our side.

In periods of developing crisis, such as we are entering today, middle classes, as well as the working class, feel victimized. But the capitalist propaganda machine has prepared them to see themselves not as victims of *capitalism*, but as victims of immigrants, darker-skinned people, and feminists - all of whom are seen as "unfair" competitors and/or a threat to "traditional values". When workers join in the scapegoating of those forced to work for lower wages, they are helping put downward pressure on their own freedom, wages, and salaries.

Scapegoating by the ruling class is nothing new: even in the best of times, it's part of their basic strategy of divide and rule. Racism drives a wedge into the labor movement. The elite fears working-class unity and will try to pit black against white, English-speaking against Spanish-speaking, etc., etc. As the crisis deepens, as unemployment, inflation, or some other economic or financial catastrophe wipes out jobs and/or the hard-earned savings of workers, half-forgotten ghosts and evil spirits will be conjured back to life. "Liberal" pretenses will be dropped. Many in the ruling class may not actually believe in racist nonsense, but that's never stopped them from using it.

Unlike your common, garden-variety right-wing capitalist politicians, fascism will not content itself with merely utilizing the police, national guard, and other state agencies to defeat and destroy all opposition to the capitalist profit system. Nor will it restrict itself to mere violent rhetoric. Its chief distinguishing characteristic is its readiness to mobilize armed gangs of thugs for strikebreaking, race-bashing, violent assaults on women's rights, and destruction of cooperative property.

Mass discontent will reach the point where social revolution is clearly on the agenda. The military and police forces will no longer be sufficient to repress and destroy the mass organizations of the workers. History shows that it is at *that* point where the "anti-fascist" capitalists will give the go-ahead and provide the material resources to mobilize an army of thugs capable of destroying the worker's movement.

Fascist terror will increasingly be aimed against selected targets within the unions in an attempt to decapitate revolutionary leadership. In order to smash the organizations of an insurgent working class and thus obliterate its threat to take the human race into the socialist future, the ruling class will provide whatever funding is necessary to strengthen and arm right-wing gangs. As working-class resistance to the capitalist offensive grows, more fascist outfits will take to the streets to assault strikers, union meetings, and protest demonstrations.

There is no unique fascist social-economic model. It is a **phase** of capitalism. Fascism in practice is no more than "normal" capitalist exploitation of human beings as commodity labor power and racist oppression ratcheted tighter.

Sectarianism on the Left was a major contributing factor to the rise of fascism in the 1930's. In Germany, the main worker's parties, the Communists and the Social Democrats, were antagonistic to each other. Franco took advantage of factionalism in Spain between communists and anarchists. Spain's fascist dictatorship lasted into the 1970's. Sectarianism is narrow-minded and dogmatic loyalty to any organization, party, or sect that becomes more important than principle.

Objective conditions favor an upsurge of mass working-class resistance. A new class-struggle leadership will emerge that can lead the workers and all its natural allies in a decisive struggle to turn the tables on capitalism's drive for higher profits. But if this spontaneous rise of new militant leaders is to be effective, unity in a non-sectarian *revolutionary party* is crucial. If the work of building such a party hasn't been done beforehand, it will be **too late** to do so when a revolutionary situation *does* develop.

If workers fail to firmly resolve the crisis, if the workers' leaders are compromising and put their hopes in "democratic", or "liberal" capitalists, rather than consistently fighting for worker's democracy, then fascism will win over the suffering middle classes. In short, if we blow our chance to put together a *revolutionary* leadership, and lay out effective strategy and tactics, then the middle class will punish us and all humanity by gravitating toward a fascist solution.

That's exactly what happened after years of chaos in Italy in 1922, in Germany in 1933, and Spain in 1939, to mention only the most glaring examples. In those cases, too many working-class leaders placed their hopes in the allegedly "anti-fascist" sections of the ruling class.

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Normal politics is not effective against fascism. As George Orwell wrote in "Homage to Catalonia":

"It is nonsense to talk of opposing Fascism by bourgeois 'democracy'. Bourgeois 'democracy' is only another name for capitalism, and so is Fascism; to fight against Fascism on behalf of 'democracy' is to fight against one form of capitalism on behalf of a second which is liable to turn into the first at any moment. The only **real** alternative to Fascism is worker's control. The workers must cling to every scrap of what they have won."

The mass base for fascism is created when capitalism is wracked by crisis, and a timid leadership fails to bring a raging class struggle to a successful conclusion.

The only effective resistance is militant, class-based organizing and coalition-building. A weak, splintered left "just ain't gonna make it"! It will take every bit of intelligence, determination, and courage that we have to break old, factional habits and work together. Only class-conscious labor unions and a united revolutionary party that understands the lessons of history - one that will stand up to corporate power with tenacity to empower the working classes - can lead us to success against fascism.

Down with sectarianism on the left. The threat is real and the stakes are high.

Solidarity! ◆

(INTEL, continued)

revolution is the continuation of a policy of "deterrence", albeit of a reconceptualized model of "minimal deterrence", but one which maintains a posture of strategic (and perhaps refined tactical) nuclear preparedness.

I would like to thank several individuals and organizations with whom I have communicated, and who provided me with references for further information. Their commitment and ongoing work is a model to be emulated: Marylia Kelly of TriValley C.A.R.E. (Citizens Against Radioactive Environments), Livermore, CA; Jacqueline Cabasso and John Burroughs of the Western States Legal Foundation, Oakland, CA; Greg Mellow of the Los Alamos Study Group, NM; Susan Gordon of the Military Production Network, Seattle, WA; and the many people involved in the long term work of Greenpeace USA/Greenpeace International; any errors of fact or interpretation are solely my own. ◆

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Covering the OPD

The Olympian Fails the Community

Emma Hendrickson

In the report, *The Condition of the Olympia Police Department*, where Michael Pendleton listed those who were "part of the problem and solution", there is one name that should have been added. Along with the entire police department, the City Council and the City Administration, it would have been appropriate to include *The Olympian*. This Gannett daily has long given its tacit support of Chief Wurner's managerial methods and law enforcement philosophies/policies.

The December 24 editorial, in response to City Administration claims that police performance has not been compromised by the department's problems, admits to "hearing complaints about a police force that's racist, sexist, homophobic and heavy-handed." Yet there had been no investigative articles, no editorial comments made previously on this matter. Research into this subject would not have been difficult. An afternoon at Bread and Roses would have yielded an abundance of misconduct stories about certain officers of the Olympian Police Department. However, to make this effort would require The Olympian to have had an interest and a desire to tell of their realities. *The Olympian* remained silent.

Also in the December 24 editorial, *The Olympian* threw its support behind Chief Wurner in his "pledge to work with his staff, city administrators and the community to fix the broken Police Department." It further states that Wurner is "motivated by a desire to clear his muddied reputation and retire from a department that has the respect of fellow officers, staff and the community. We believe Wurner will work hard to clear up the problems so that he can leave office with positive accomplishments." However certain *The Olympian* may be regarding Chief Wurner intentions, his actions and his words, taken as reported and submitted in *The Olympian* itself, indicate the task of revitalizing the OPD may be beyond Wurner's abilities.

In an op-ed piece written by John Wurner in the December 26th issue of *The Olympian*, he claims "full responsibility for the actions of supervisors and managers as they carry out the mandates of his policies under his direction." The statements he makes concerning his responsibilities, though accurate, might have well as been written for a brochure entitled, "So you want to become the Chief of Police." However, nowhere in the article does Wurner state that he takes responsibility for the current dysfunction in the OPD. He points fingers at the City Council for not allocating adequate funds, at Cushing for his suggestion that Wurner retire before the report was made public, and the community for its "liberal environment." (This "liberal/conservative" thing seems to be one of the few items Wurner has been able to glean from the report.)

The December 24 editorial admits to "hearing complaints about a police force that's racist, sexist, homophobic and heavy-handed." Yet there had been no investigative articles, no editorial comments made previously on this matter.

Wurner's unwillingness to take responsibility prior to *The Olympian's* public support is evident in an *Olympian* article written by Devin Smith on December 18. Wurner dismisses the importance of departmental problems as common in "every law-enforcement agency" and that people in general are critical of "law enforcement". Wurner is quoted, "I look at morale as an elusive issue, I think morale depends on the day of the week or the time of the day." While not refuting his "desire to clear his muddied reputation," these statements and those on the 26th certainly indicate his probable inability to do so.

The Olympian has also chosen to look the other way concerning Wurner's decisions and other actions regarding misconduct of officers on the streets. An obvious example of blatant misconduct accepted is the Ken Dean Case which has resulted in a civil suit against the police department and the city. In 1994, an officer, incriminated by his own words, violated the 4th Amendments rights of an African-american suspect, and lied about the suspect's intent to commit suicide to manipulate his fellow officers into arriving full force at the suspect's residence. Not only did Chief Wurner commend the officer's actions against the African-american suspect, this officer received his second "Officer of the Year" award soon after. Add to that the officer's subsequent promotion to detective, and his new position as head of the gang task force. (Note: This officer is claimed by street people to be one of the most disliked and distrusted officers. They say he is rude, bigoted, antagonistic and has a tendency toward five-finger discounts with confiscated evidence.)

In the Pendleton report, which *The Olympian* has claimed to have read, employees of the OPD describe an demoralized environment, where, due to a lack of honesty of management and a "double standard of discipline", there is no trust. They painted a situation of disrespect, inconsistent expectations, acts of condescending public humiliation, existence of "favorites", punitive supervision, and "retaliation". It can be no surprise that they should also talk of low morale resulting in poor performance, low initiative and an under utilization of their skills." This is not just an uncomfortable situation, these employees describe an organization based in fear. Not the fear that is generated in employees, but management's fear of losing control, fear of being wrong, fear of being found incompetent. This fear is evident in other ways, such isolation and deterrence.

It is not uncommon to hear complaints concerning citizen requests for public information from the Olympia Police Department. They say they are often treated in a discourteous, disrespectful manner, not given straight forward answers and are likely to receive no information. One gentleman, who has attempted to gain information from the Olympia, Lacey, and County police departments, has stated to me that of the three, Olympia is considerably more difficult with which to deal. "It's like pulling teeth, you rarely get what you ask for, if you get anything at all." In one instance, a citizen asked for information on an open case. He was told that the department has already disposed of that information. The citizen then informed the officer that disposing of information in an open case is a federal offense. The officer then said that maybe they did have it afterall.

It is not unusual when approaching the OPD, to encounter an unpleasant, intimidating situation and I recommend that citizens not go alone.

If the OPD is operated in a fashion that demoralizes its own staff, deters citizens from obtaining public information and supports police misconduct of at least "favorites" in the department, does Chief Wurner use similar tactics with city government? The Pendleton report relates that some employees believe that "the Chief has been `successful' in keeping the Police Department off the Council agenda." When taken into consideration Wurner's length of time in his position, the long term nature of the department's problems and Wurner's transparent attempt to transfer attention to Cushing, the City Manager, the answer may be very likely.

Back in November, *The Olympian* had a front page article regarding a questionable policy in use by the Rainier Police Department requiring the Chief of Police's review before police officers, officers of the court, or public officials can be arrested or cited. In the following Saturday's Winners and Losers editorial, "Chief Wurner", it is written, "follows a more reasonable procedure. He requests only that he be notified of significant arrests." Knowing of unethical situations involving the Olympia Police Department and Chief Wurner, I found this

(Continued next page)

Excerpts from the Pendleton Report

For real development to occur three things must happen:

> The problems and issues facing this department must be formally acknowledged by upper management.
>
> A visible and enduring effort to address these issues must be apparent.
>
> *All* members of the department, City Council and City Administration must acknowledge that they are both part of the problem and the solution. The externalization of responsibility must stop.

Recommendation #1a. The Chief should formally acknowledge that the Police Department has significant organizational problem. The Chief should acknowledge primary responsibility for these problems and pledge to address them. This acknowledgement should be communicated with a real sense of urgency to all the stakeholders both within and outside the Department to include other venues within the City.

Taken from "The Condition of the Olympia Police Department" by Michael R. Pendleton PH.D.

The Olympian Is Unreal

On Martin Luther King, Jr's birthday *The Olympian* took a haughty position lamenting that though people would be enjoying their day off, few would reflect on King's importance in the Civil Rights movement. The short piece ended with "The greatest tribute we can pay to King today is to work to make that dream come true." This appears to mean that *The Olympian* believes it is making this tribute.

Consider how King might have viewed *The Olympian* opposition to the Fleetwood project to provide transitional housing for those homeless. Now, imagine Dr. King agreeing with *The Olympian's* claim that "it's in the wrong spot."

Martin Luther King, Jr., who was far more than "an eloquent speaker", dared to speak of situations people faced in this country at risk of his life. He spoke from a personal philosophy heavily influenced by both the teachings of Christ *and* Mahatma Gandhi. He said "we must demonstrate, teach, and preach, until the very foundations of our nation are shaken. We must work unceasingly to lift this nation that we love to a higher destiny, to a new plateau of compassion, to a more noble expression of humaneness."

Citizens, including business people, in this city worked together to insure the implementation of the Fleetwood Project. In spite of the opposition by *The Olympian* and a few other businesses based in bigotry and fear, they were able to persevere. Their success is not only a tribute to Dr. King's dream, it's basic human decency.

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that are more supportive of the police. 37.5% of the participants identified issues in this area.

Also noted was a lack of support from the "liberal" City Council.

Valued Training

Policy standards reinforced by training programs are often viewed as the most important weapons against police abuse. If the officers aren't trained to do their jobs effectively, they are a liability to not only the city but also its citizenry. Pendleton recommends replacing and distributing the existing limited manual with a comprehensive and detailed Standard Operating Procedure manual to all employees as well as conducting training on the manual.

Police chiefs and administrators bear primary responsibility for developing and implementing proper and workable procedures and standards of performance and accountability. They must also ensure that their police are well trained so that they do not perform as an occupying army that views citizens as aliens or enemies, but rather that they act as a community resource working in conjunction with other social resources to eradicate problems. Crime is not the exclusive responsibility of the police, and the police are not a panacea for crime, they are but a band-aid. The community as a whole has to address the root causes of the problems that act as a catalyst for crime.

When police officers and the citizens of a neighborhood know each other, community policing theory holds that it is more difficult for both criminals and cops to break the law. Policies and training programs need to be continuously and openly re-evaluated to ensure they are effective, up-to-date and not inconsistent with the values and priorities of the local community. As the above testimony indicates, the officers feel out of place in Olympia. This is disheartening when it is voiced by the lateral entry officers and down right scary for those new entry officers who apparently aren't adequately trained at all. If police officers feel they don't have the authority, the power, and training to handle a situation, they're more likely to resort to brute force or violation of people's rights in other ways.

Civilian Review

The police must be policed. Just as systems of independent checks and balances serve to curb abuses of power in other government institutions, civilian review serves this same function with police departments. Civilian oversight in itself does not solve police abuse problems — many systems lack adequate authority, independence or staffing to be effective. Strong models of civilian review need ongoing commitment and backing from local officials to overcome resistance from police officers who often continue to oppose the agencies or boards even after their creation.

According to the ACLU, the presence of certain key components greatly enhances the effectiveness and credibility of particular civilian review systems: 1. Independence from the police department, 2. Investigatory power, 3. Mandatory Police cooperation, 4. Adequate funding, 5. Hearings, 6. Reflects diversity of community, 7. Police policy recommendations, 8. Statistical analysis, 9. Separate offices, 10. Role in employee discipline.

Injured and harassed citizens must have access to a fair tribunal so they can report intimidation without fear of reprisal or further intimidation. This means a permanent, independent, elected citizen review board with disciplinary powers. The board must have free access to evidence, including police audio tapes.

Police policies should be subject to public review and debate instead of being viewed as the sole province of police insiders. Open policy-making not only allows police officials to take advantage of community input, it also provides an opportunity for police officials to publicly explain why certain tactics or procedures should have little interest in policies or practices that cannot withstand public scrutiny.

Police misconduct is an American habit that has existed since the turn of the century, says Al Reiss, a Yale criminologist. "Nobody knows how prevalent it was then, nor do they now." The problem is difficult to gauge because no comprehensive statistics exist. And the phenomenon involves an institution, the police, that is a closed culture with a Code of Silence. "In approximately 8,000 complaints investigated [in NYC] in 1987 and 1988, there was not a single instance of an officer coming forward with incriminating information about another officer," said Norman Siegel, executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union.

The Justice Department has the power to bring federal criminal civil right prosecutions. Since 1985, the DOJ has received approximately 8,000 complaints of criminal civil rights violations by local police each year. It is clear that these complaints represent only a fraction of the police abuse in the nation each year. Complaints to the DOJ have declined by 20% since 1981, at a time when complaints about police abuse appear to have increased nationally. Nationally, the number of police officers has doubled in that time.

DOJ conducts an investigation in fewer than half the cases brought to its attention each year. Moreover, attorneys familiar with the FBI investigative process believe that the majority of investigations are cursory — the FBI does little more than accumulate the local police reports, which themselves may be unreliable. Out of the approximately 3,000 complaints that are investigated in a year, only about 50 cases are presented to a grand jury for possible indictments. That translates into prosecutions in little more than one half of one percent of complaints received by DOJ. Moreover, a significant number (30%) of those charged under the criminal civil rights statutes are prison guards not law enforcement officers.

According to OPD Commander Steve Nelson, none of the couple of dozens of complaints made against officers every year have been substantiated in court. *Works In Progress* is in the process of doing a public survey of Olympia's citizenry to assess the trust it has in its police department. Preliminary data seems to indicate that there is a lot of distrust and fear of the OPD.

The survey will be the subject of an article next month.

Citizens are encouraged to obtain their own copy of the Pendleton Report and to attend the Ad Hoc Committee meetings. The Report is available at City Hall and the next meeting is January 31st at City Hall. Contact the Olympia City Hall for a further schedule. ◆

(Olympian, *continued)*

most frustrating. Now, after the Pendleton Report and *The Olympian's* admission of prior knowledge, I am at a loss. Why use the claimed policy of this Police Chief, whose police department is known to cause complaints of police misconduct based in racism, sexism, and heterosexism, to attack the City of Rainier? This makes as much sense as using Adolf Hitler as a role model for bureaucratic management. Is this comparison a little extreme? When it is taken into consideration that African-american men are treated unequally to the extent that they now out number European-american males in U.S. prisons, maybe not. Furthermore, Chief Wurner's procedure is referred to as "reasonable". Shouldn't *The Olympian* be questioning why Wurner would give any public official's arrest or citation different treatment than average citizens? It would have been far more appropriate to give praise to Lacey and Yelms' police departments who *The Olympian* claim have no special policy for public officials.

If the issues of the Olympia Police Department are ever to be remedied, change is required by more than the Police Department. If citizens are going to be effective in creating change and making a difference they need a press that is more forth right. *The Olympian* needs to be in service to the people of this community, it needs to bring to light abuses of power. A democracy relies upon a strong democratically minded press to assure itself of freedom. Specifically, instead of stressing accusations and challenges between Wurner and Cushing, *The Olympian* should bring attention to the more substantive issues brought about in the Pendleton Report: those of community policing, discrimination, career development and training program, adequate facilities, custody space for juveniles, and public involvement.

It is time for Chief Wurner to make a respectful departure *and* it is time also for *The Olympian* to look at its actions and complicity, and begin serving this community. ◆

(Crisis Shelter, continued)

municipal governments to address the various concerns before the policies are promulgated that effect the homeless population. I know this can sound nebulous but this approach helps determine what criteria is really needed and what reactions are fear-driven. I discussed the screening and security plans with two city administrators, but the policy had been already established. I know how difficult it is to retract oneself after setting such a policy, especially in the the public's eye.

The access restriction creates a situation where I doubt you will have a homeless client seek shelter at the community shelter. Most homeless persons have fears of government institutions and law enforcement agencies. It's a fact that *most* people liveing in the United States have these same fears. So in the situation where fear manifests from loss of work, displacement from current residence, dissolution, extended homelessness, mental illness, alcohol and drug abuse (which is a sickness and disability), and many other related reasons, the homeless men will likely not show up at your shelter. It's so hard to get past the fear of reprisal even if it doesn't exist. It looks like a set-up to most homeless persons even though you have extended yourself to help.

I have personally witnessed a community-based shelter that really helped some homeless people move on with their lives. Yes, even at this level. A roof over one's head with a little warmth goes a long way. I realize shelter alone will not solve the complicated issues of homelessness, but every little bit helps. AND let's not forget the intent for opening these community (city) facilities to the homeless population not serven by the Salvation Army: 'A place to get out of the cold; to save a human life.'

Another good point is the shelter must be run properly, with safety precaution available, which is actually the most important request from the homeless themselves.

From my discussions with the homeless men, concerned citizens and my colleagues at Emergency Habitat, I request the cities omit these restrictions and allow the homeless men to access your facility.

Rick Hoonan is the Chair of the Board of Directors for Emergency Habitat. ◆

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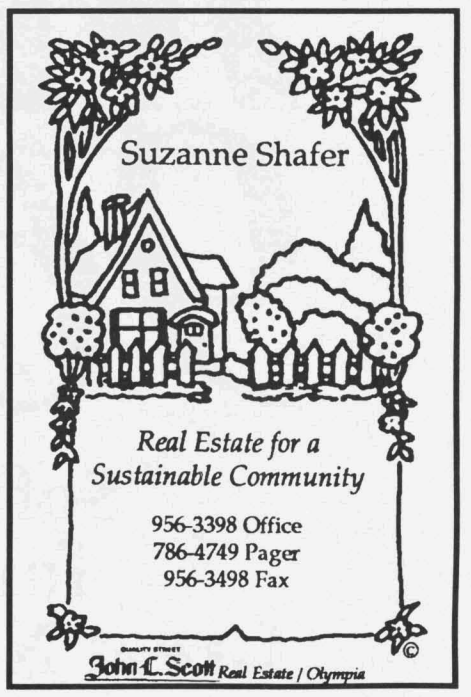


CALENDAR OF EVENTS

Thursday, February 1
and the first Thursdays of March, April, and May
Criminal Justice Study Group

7pm at 219 B Street, Tumwater

Using materials developed by the American Friends Service Committee we will examine issues relating to the criminal justice system in America today. Material will be available for about $15-20 at first meeting.
Sponsored by Olympia Friends Meeting (Quakers) and the Social Justice Committee of St. Michael's Catholic Church. Call Susan 943-4575 or Tammy 352-5086.

Tuesday, February 6, 1996
20 Years of Injustice!
Take it to the FBI Offices & US Embassies and Consulates

Noon at Seattle Federal Building Plaza on 2nd & Marion
Carpool from the Asterisk parking lot (Division and Harrison)
International Protest Against FBI Abuse and Terrorism and for Justice for Leonard Peltier and All Political Prisoners Info:705-2726

Friday, February 9
A Conversation with Stephanie Coontz on Family Issues: Past, Present and Future

7-9pm at Olympia Unitarian Universalist Church
2200 East End St. NW (Off 20th, off Division)
Dr. Coontz, a TESC faculty member, will present her research on the state of American families and then will dialogue with the audience on family issues. Free-will donations go to the Olympia Family Support Center. Childcare is available. For info call 866-9010.

Sunday, February 11
Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays
Wedge Issues: Can the Right divide and conquer us?

2pm in The Gathering Place room of First United Methodist Church
1224 Legion Way SE, at Boundary St in Olympia
Frieda Takamura, field representative in Human Relations Instruction for the Washington Education Association, will speak on wedge issues through which Radical Right political groups seek to divide civil rights organizations from each other. She will suggest steps toward unity. Call 866-0511 for information.

Rally for Working Families on Presidents' Day
Monday, February 19

Check-in/legislative briefing: 9:30-10:30am at GA Building
Rally and March starts at 11am at the Capitol steps
Possible legislative hearing on key labor issue: 1:30pm
Pre-register by calling 1-800-562-6002 by Feb. 5. Will provide quality box lunches to those who pre-register, including all listed family members.
Sponsored by the Washington State Labor Council, AFL-CIO and its over 550 Affiliates. For more info call Randy or Heidi at 352-7603 or 1-800-562-6002.

• Promising to attend is the Out Front Labor Coalition, an affiliate of Pride at Work, a national Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual/Transgender labor organization. (PO Box 23215 Seattle, WA 98102 (206) 689-8672)

ONGOING MEETINGS AND EVENTS

Liberation Café
Olympia Political Cultural Center
Wednesdays: Jan. 31, Feb. 7 & 25
7pm at 116 4th Ave E
Top floor of Bulldog News
New members are encouraged to attend an orientation session—with refreshments!!— at 6:30 P.M.
For more info call 493-6601

Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace
Tuesdays: Jan 30, Feb 13 & 27
7pm at Liberation Cafe, 116 4th Ave
Informational discussion on Intel, Big Mountain, other things • Call 956-1771

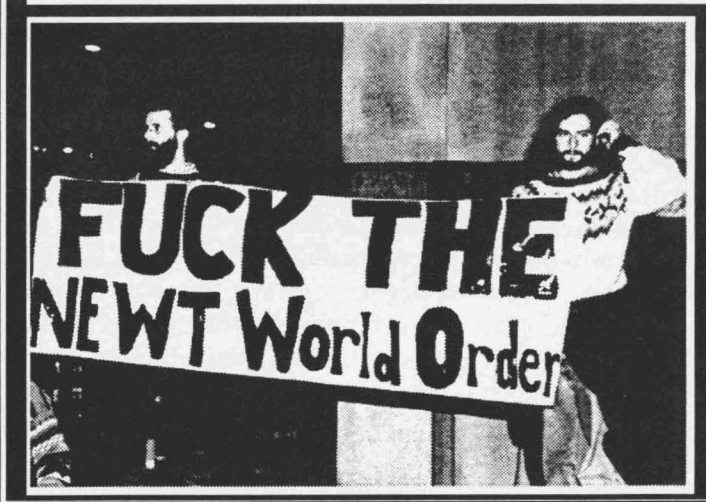
Olympia FOR Monthly Speaker Series
Third Sunday of Month
Thurston County Courthouse Building 1
Call 491-9093 for info.

Hands Off Washington
General Meeting
Last Tuesday of Month
United Churches • Capital & 11th
Call 786-6608 for info

Food Not Bombs
serves free organic vegetarian food
Sundays 1pm
at Bread & Roses
Meetings: Wednesday 6pm
TESC CAB 1st floor

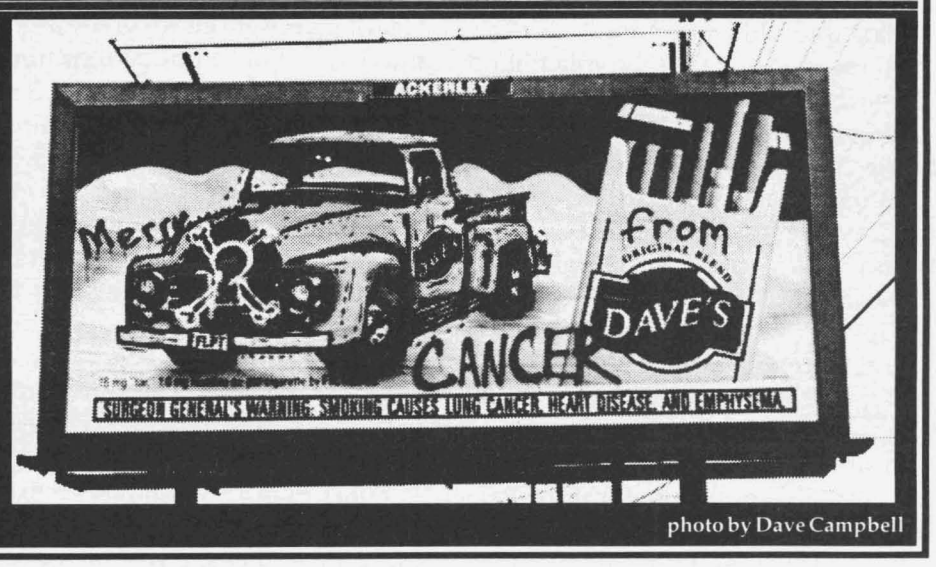
Support for Women's Clinic and Choice
Thursdays 8:30 am - 3 pm
1100 Eastside Street NE

The Community Photo Album
(Send in your photos)



At least 2000 protesters poured into the streets in Seattle on January 12th to disrupt Newt Gingrich'e 'Funding For Fascism Tour.'

photos by Hali Panneton



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